

BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

A Few Case-Studies

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WITH THE

AUTHOR'S GRATEFUL REGARD AND ESTEEM

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FOREWORD

THE HON'BLE DR. S. P. MOOKERJEE, M.A., B.L.,
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The problem of discipline in school is of complex and intricate nature. The presence of anti-social behaviour in children disturbs the peace of the school community and its effect is felt also in the wider society. It is therefore a problem of great practical importance to all those who are responsible for the proper education of children. Here as everywhere, only accurate and adequate knowledge can help us in formulating effective measures to cope with the problem.

There has been, however, very little scientific work in this country to understand the psychology of children who offend against school discipline. The investigations of Dr. J. Dasgupta of the Teachers' Training Department, Calcutta University, is an attempt and a right step, in this direction. The following pages incorporate some of the findings of his enquiry. I am confident guardians and teachers will find this book useful.

PREFACE

A. N. BASU, M.A. (LONDON)

By school discipline we generally understand the observance of certain rules of conduct framed by the school authorities. Failure to comply with such rules is regarded mainly from the point of view of school administration; and aggressive measures are taken to cope with the problem with little attempt to gain an insight into its psychology. Only recently we have begun to realise the individual nature of the problem. Such a change in outlook has more and more shifted the emphasis from the breaches to the breakers of discipline, *i.e.*, from the conduct to the personality behind it.

Modern psychology insists on a teleological determinism in behaviour and the complexity of underlying motives inspiring any particular form of behaviour. It has been found that we are no longer in need of the hypothesis of "an innately depraved heart" to account for breaches of discipline and acts of delinquency. There may be other explanations which are not only theoretically more cogent and valid but also more helpful and reassuring from the point of view of educators. Social Psychology, *i.e.*, the psychology of inter-personal relationship, and depth psychology, *i.e.*, the psychology of unconscious motives lying buried in human nature provide us with such explanations which are at once more scientific and satisfactory. The present investigation, it will be seen, has also proved this fact.

Indiscipline is a matter affecting not only the individual child but also the school community to which he belongs. Children's observance of school rules is a good criterion for judging the extent of their adaptation to school-society and finally to the larger society outside the

school. Education aims at, among other things, wholesome social adjustment. Indiscipline and delinquency in schools are therefore in reality expression of social maladjustment and as such they are educational problems of great importance.

Dr. Dasgupta has studied the problem of indiscipline not only as a psychologist but also as an educationist. He approached the problem from the point of view of both social and depth psychology. He selected a number of school children and studied them intensively with special reference to some major problems of indiscipline. He has made a careful and scientific analysis of the causes underlying these problems and has reached certain important conclusions which will be of great value to all students of child psychology. But he has not been content with that. As an educationist he has also suggested how these cases of indiscipline are to be remedied and his suggestions will be found helpful not only by teachers but also by parents.

BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

INTRODUCTION

In March, 1944, Teachers' Training Department, Calcutta University, undertook an investigation into the problem of School Discipline and Mental Health of School Children. The following pages incorporate some of the findings of the enquiry. We have however added in our last chapter a genetic study of a two-year old which claims to possess some value as a psychological document.

Every breach of discipline by a pupil creates some difficulty on the way of smooth working of school administration. Now school administration is devoted in the first instance, to the purpose of scholastic advancement of its students. Secondly, teachers rightly regard themselves as moral guardians of their pupils at least as long as the children are in schools. Behaviour of a pupil, which deliberately interferes with the principal aim of the school or which falls short of a minimum moral requirement, is regarded as a case of indiscipline. Some of the cases of indiscipline are even strictly anti-social in nature, where mischief-making does not remain restricted within the boundary of the school. But the school itself is a society in miniature. The problem of discipline is thus in some sense always a social problem.

In the past the social aspect of the problem of discipline attracted greater part of our attention and breaches of discipline were dealt mainly from the point of view of school administration with less regard for the welfare of the culprit. It is only more recently that we have begun to feel quite intensely that the problem of discipline is equally a human, an individual problem.

This outlook puts the well-being of the individual offender to the forefront. It carefully tries to consider

whether and how far any proposed counter-measure will help the culprit to return to the path of social-conformity. In other words, it assesses the value of a counter-measure greatly from the point of reform and not from that of retribution. Our increased knowledge of human motives and behaviour has again enabled the new outlook to take a more sympathetic view of the wrong-doer, though not of wrong-doing. We are learning to understand the delinquent conduct as teleologically determined failure of social adjustment and not mischievous acts of an innately depraved heart.

The new outlook, however, has no tendency to supplant the old one: the emphasis upon the individual should not lead to a loss of sight of the effect of breach of discipline on school-society. Here fortunately, the good of the school and the good of the individual are more often the same. What the school needs is the prevention of breaches of discipline. Now an offender in his own interest, as Bagley¹ points out, is also to be "protected against himself." So far as the aim is concerned, we thus see that social and individual interests do not differ, though it is true that there may be some difference in the proposed method of combating indiscipline. Punishment and admonition may, for example, serve the social end, when they are effective, though in no case they serve the individual interest so well. But punishment and admonition will find today few advocates for them.* William Healy² rightly points out, "even the simplest observations show the very great failure of these methods." A more serious argument against punishment and admonition is that they fail to pay due regard to human dignity. They lower the self-respect of the culprit as well as fail in most instances to effect any really beneficent change in the child. In short the modern reaction against punishment owes itself mainly to our interest for the well-being of the individual offender.

* As Thorndike formulated the law of effect it appeared that the punishment could further the social education of the child.* In one of his recent works he however details the results of experiments he undertook during 1928-1931 which have proved that "...reward strengthened, but punishment did not weaken, the tendencies to which it was attached." (*Man and His works*, 1933, p. 150) According to Thorndike punishment thus appears to have little educational value.



The good of the individual is the modern democratic ideal. The seed of democracy lies exactly in such profound and not practical, in the extolling of human right and human dignity above all sectional interests. The prerequisite for all struggle on human right is the recognition that we are all human beings, irrespective of our age, sex or profession. It is then mainly due to the democratic interpretation that we are for the first time seen as a man and not merely a man in the making.

More specifically it is necessary to mention the general educational movement of the modern times which started with Rousseau and eventually also heralded the French Revolution and all that stood for French Revolution—right and liberty of individuals. Educators felt that education to be really effective needs the cooperation of the child. As the old English adage goes: A man may lead a horse to the water, but he cannot make him drink.

In other words we have begun to see that the more central than ever in effective education is the child's habit and willingness as a result of which the modern movement of child-centred education was born.

Thus the democratic ideal of emphasising the right of the child was greatly reinforced by the great educational thought into the process of education. It was immensely gratifying for us to learn that as we are paying our respect to child's deeper values, wherefrom we take our start and which we seek to broaden and enrich, we are also giving aid to the child to educate himself by the best use of the term.

The modern educational theories radically corrected a very serious error, regarding the child—mind, an error prevailing in many quarters, sometime, with a new emphasis in the opposite direction. The error was the tendency to regard the child as a moral degenerate unwilling to benefit by education.

Such revolutionary ideas regarding children and their education, cannot but deeply influence the more specific

questions of reforming the more difficult and even wayward child.

The growing humanism, which repudiated the old patriarchal notion that women and children were less than human, also set its face against the idea that a wayward child was inherently evil-minded. We went on developing our democratic ideas and we have begun to believe that even wayward and fool-minded children have their rights. Lastly, it was experienced that no reform works unless child is willing and ready for it.

Expressed so far these theories in fact little more than noble wishes or social philosophy. The case of such a social philosophy was greatly strengthened by the discoveries of free psychology and medical psychology in the later part of the last century. In other words, as we have begun to grasp the workings of a child's mind and behaviour, the correct ideas of child care have been evolved.

A conduct we know is always an expression of a motive. It is however easy to fall in error that we are consciously aware of a child's motive. The motive or at least a very important part of it more often lies buried in the unconscious. A child, *e.g.*, steals and it frequently happens that he really does not know why he does so if he is asked why he stole. He sometimes invents a reason and that is—*as is known in psychology*—a piece of pure rationalisation. The reason why one is unaware of the motive of his conduct lies frequently in the presence of incompatible wishes in an individual. The presence of incompatible wishes is always marked by an *unpleasant* conflict which is quite often an unconscious one. The psychic conflict leads to the end-psyche repression of one of the wishes but the repressed wish does not thereby lose its power. It motivates conduct which a person is obliged to pursue with some degree of compulsion. The compulsive operation by unconscious is very apparent in seemingly motiveless theft like kleptomania. In more normal cases of stealing conscious motives dominate the picture and seem to make the inference of any unconscious motives unnecessary. The conscious motives

which dominate over unconscious ones in normal stealing we have however found are largely illusory. Sometimes these conscious motives are no more than masquerades. Any slightly serious attempt to understand why a child steals, what he steals and how he uses the money or object he steals, goes a fair length to convince the investigator of the complex psychic determinants of stealing. Generally, to a lesser extent, this applies to all other types of misconduct of children.

The first few years play a tremendously more important part in the life of any child. It orients him to the world and shapes his philosophy of life. The foremost objects of his life are his parents. The interaction between the parent and the child leaves indelible psychic traces in the mind of the child and his subsequent experiences of men and women are largely projection of his conscious and unconscious memory of his parents.

Secondly, a child lives in an animistic, nay in an anthropomorphic world. He sees in every object himself and his parents. His reaction to any object is constituted largely by the fundamental reactions evoked in him by his parents.* Even the very common eating difficulties of children can be only adequately explained by referring the difficulties to children's unconscious wishes towards their parents, as psychoanalysts have proved by their analytical experience.†

The love and hatred, children originally feel towards their parents — or to be traced best to the parental behaviour and secondly to the psychic constitution of children, the quantity and quality of their innate love and aggression. These experiences go to form what is known as character that underlies all conducts of children.

* See Chapter III.

† Melanie Klein (1905-1982) 'The role of the oral stage in the development of the personality', *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 1952, 1, 1-29. She has shown how parents' attitudes towards their children, and the child's response to these attitudes, shape the child's ego and every kind of conduct. In the oral stage the child is preoccupied with the mother's breast and the mother's body and is the most dependent and vulnerable stage.

Children's behaviour in their schools expresses their character already formed in its major part. In other words, the child by his behaviour reacts as much to the past as to the present, perhaps more to the past than to the present. The last statement is certainly true of abnormal behaviour, which is pursued regardless of the reality.

In all their new attachment and hatred children are effecting to use a useful psycho-analytic term—a transference—i.e., they are reliving the past—their mostly buried love and hatred towards their parents. This serves as the keynote to all his actions too.

We have so far considered anti-social variety of problem behaviour which troubles teachers as problems of discipline. For obvious reasons, the anti-social behaviour in school children needs greater demand on the teacher's efforts and therefore attracts more of his attention. The other type of problem behaviour escapes mostly any notice in a school and to that type teachers have hitherto remained in many, passive and resigned. This statement admits of one exception in scholastic retardation to which teachers always reacted more or less actively. The problem behaviour mentioned, refers to one which is worthless and often quite harmful mainly for the child who so behaves.

Problem behaviour, it may be pointed out here, is thus classifiable under two heads—(1) Those, which are mainly anti-social in significance, i.e., they hurt the interest of people other than the child, who behaves and (2) Those, which are mainly anti-owner of the behaviour significance. Criminal acts are examples of Group I, while a phobia of a child, his unhappiness, anxiety states or scholastic retardation are to be considered as examples of Group II. Though it is clear that scholastic retardation is a problem behaviour of anti-owner significance, we are inclined to treat it as an independent sub-group on several practical considerations. The most important thing for a child in school is his scholastic progress. The problem of scholastic retardation is again very frequently met with and if we believe our experience of all child's problems it is the most numerous

Such a distinction in problem behaviour is drawn on social consideration, i.e., by the effect they produce on the society. We should not, however, claim that criminal groups are exclusive of each other. The distinction is mainly on emphasis. The psychoneuroses in a child gives rise to difficulty in a wholesome social adjustment and, even without unduly stretching the meaning of the term 'social', one sometimes is constrained to feel that many psychoneuroses of children are to some extent *anti-social* in nature. Yet if we do not blame them as we are prone to blame delinquents, it is because on all appearance a psychoneurotic suffers more than he causes suffering to others. We forgive him as we forgive a person who is physically ill.

A delinquent conduct again though it may not be always easy to accept, is directed against the delinquent himself as it is directed against others. This statement appears greatly justified also on a deeper psychological consideration. A child told us that he began to steal from his mother after he played truant from school. As a result of truancy he suffered from a conscious feeling of guilt and recognised that he was already a sinner, there was no reason why he should not commit further sin. Apparently he seems to derive from truancy a sanction to himself. One sin leads to another. In a deeper sense, however, the child's argument carried another important meaning. He undertook stealing to punish himself, to punish himself for the offence he had previously committed, i.e., truancy. In a word, the stealing for the boy is as much a sin as it is a punishment. The above account may be accepted as a typical account of the psychology of many chronic delinquencies. We should only add that the guilt feeling of the criminals may not be always very conscious and that the delinquent rarely knows his real guilt, which gives rise to the perpetual feeling of guilt in him. Yet it is true that most delinquents suffer from an obsessive sense of guilt and delinquency is often a way of self-punishment.

Stekel¹ found that the nucleus of psychoneurotic is self-hatred. It is even easier to convince one self that a

delinquent hurts himself and his fellow-beings. The unconscious need of punishment plays as an important motive in many criminal actions. In some persons a sense of guilt is always present. It is intelligible that remorse and punishment are their great needs. They thus actually commit a crime so that they may afterwards repent, feel remorse or even get punishment.

Here it is necessary to say something about delinquency, which results mainly from poverty of intelligence. It is not possible for example for imbeciles or those whose I.Q. falls below 70 to understand the universal moral judgments or to apply them to concrete moral situations. It is not difficult to understand why in Great Britain indecent exposure has been found a common offence amongst imbeciles. The criminal acts which need planning before-hand and some degree of intelligent execution in practice are however beyond the power of imbecile. The agent of such a criminal act must be at least a moron such an agent is sometimes one with a super-normal intelligence but we have found that such a criminality cannot be explained by holding it is merely an intellectual defect. In most cases the criminal act is the emotional reaction of the child to the attitude the society takes of the child and his ability.

Investigators into delinquency have made use of the hypothesis of psychopathic constitution in many delinquents. It has been sometimes found that delinquency like kleptomania is nothing short of a full fledged psycho-neurosis. Huxley* a truant boy, displays for instance many psycho-neurotic or even psychotic traits which cannot but bear an inseparable relation to his truancy.

As we delve deeper it is found that psycho-neurosis and delinquency originate from complexes of identical nature. Both of them are unsatisfactory solutions of the fundamental affective problems of ones lives. It may be

* See Chapter VI

therefore said that the problem of delinquency is as complex as that of psycho-neurosis.

We have thus understood psycho-neurosis or delinquency not as a discrete lesion but as an invariable part of a mind - the entire love and hate disposition of a person. Any attack with fair chances of success must take account of the reaction of the whole person and not merely a portion of his mind. It is possible, let us say, to beat a child and to make him docile and obedient, but in many cases it is a costly bargain - we thereby make the child lose his real self ever from us. It is not however meant that it is possible to evolve re-educative measures which may be acceptable to every side of the mind. The struggle for reform or cure is always waging a war on psycho-neurosis or delinquency, no less than in the past, but only a more clever one - in a sense a flanking attack instead of a frontal one. What essentially distinguishes the new war from the old one is the following. Here our attack is not directed against a symptom but against the system of complex which has given rise to symptoms. Secondly the fight we now conduct is not to be described as one between us and patients, i.e. delinquents or psycho-neurotics. We quickly win over an important part of the patient's mind to our side and we persuade the patient to fight with our help against himself, his social or anti-social self. The fight however is preceded by a conscious insight into the mind and behaviour on the part of a child. This at once ensures the cause of effective reform and self-respect of the offender. Healy³ writes: "we stand now a day for the principle of inducing in the offender self-directed tendencies towards more desirable behaviour."

No mind is so depraved as to be destitute of the will to live wholesomely and of social feeling. As we search, we find them even in the worst criminals. The children have their love however repressed never dead. We try to arouse their love in their relation to the psychologist and when we feel that their love has been sufficiently aroused we

take pains to persuade them to combat their anti-owner and anti-social wishes.

What has surprised us in our work, when we have been able to devote sufficient time to a case, is not the unwillingness of a child to reform but his great eagerness to do so. We are thus inclined to remark that one unwillingly becomes a delinquent or a psycho-neurotic. In other words, a delinquent or a psycho-neurotic, when analysed, shows that he has suppressed a very powerful wish to live happily in social harmony and in friendship with his fellow beings.

II

Our studies in problem behaviour of children are mainly attempts at a deeper understanding of the causes, which give rise to such behaviour. In two cases we have ourselves attempted some psychological treatment and in a few others we have let teachers know of our recommendation. The unequal distribution of our effort towards diagnosis and towards treatment owes itself to the following reasons. We are charged mainly with understanding the problem and we are not also provided with the minimum requirements for a psychological treatment of a case by which we are enriched and foremost an well-equipped clinic. It may be here pointed out that in psychology knowledge serves the therapeutic end and with a psychological case treatment and diagnosis are not very different. We have ourselves written,⁶

'In respect to delinquency when we have been able to know its causes (e.g. have made the correct diagnosis, we have quite often also understood how to combat it and to conquer it. Psycho-analytical therapeutics are based on the tried assumption that self-knowledge cures a patient. While we thus acknowledge the supreme importance of knowledge in psychotherapeutics, we may distinguish here the understanding of a disease by a physician from that by a patient. The former must pave the path for the latter but the former alone does not effect a cure. The earlier part of the

business may be called diagnostic work, to which the greater portion of our effort we devoted.

In our case-studies we have not followed consistently any single method of enquiry. In the problem of stealing, we have tried greatly to prove our case. Not so much in our cases of truancy, where a deductive approach was fully combined with an inductive one. It is true that no investigation can be purely inductive. Still less so is an investigation where the enquirer could permit himself no greater indulgence than ten to fifteen sittings for any one of his cases excepting two. In time we collected a certain amount of facts and we utilized the general experiences of previous investigators in drawing out as far as possible full psychic meaning and significance from those facts.

In our investigation we made use of a number of tests and profiles besides interviews. As there was no standardised group verbal intelligence test, we devised one following Sperry's*. I translated and to some extent revised according to the requirement of our environment But's Revision of the Stanford Revision Test which I found to be quite useful in our work with the individual students. I next made three profiles ready—three sets of questionnaire for teachers, parents and children to answer. Teachers, and in some cases guardians, supplied us with information regarding the entrance and conduct of the child and to some extent the nature of the child's environment. Children's answers, interpreted by us, reveal their ideas about themselves, their parents and the parental love. They also appraise us of the strength of their love and jealousy. As it was found necessary, I prepared a series of questions, each of which bore a mark. That enabled us to have a fairly accurate estimation of a child's wish to get and give love, which has been found to throw important light on the aetiology of many acts of delinquency. Children are then given a word-association test. Finally children are met in interviews."

* Rudolph Parkes—A. N. Bhave and J. Dasgupta, Publishers by the Calcutta University Press, 1941.

It may not be out of place to say a word or two on the love-questionnaire to which I referred above. The questionnaires are based on the assumption that in regard to love there are firstly two very important conscious attitudes. They are the wishes to love and to be loved respectively. A normal child displays the wish to be loved quite abundantly and in a more marked degree than an adult. Contrary to our expectation, however, we found that the wish to be loved was also present in a normal adult in quite a high degree. The mean scores of 62 children and 93 adults were found as 36 and 26.5 respectively. The low score, i.e. score much lower than the arithmetic mean in the wish for love has been found to bear an important relation to a poor social adjustment, perhaps ultimately to a poor mental health in a child. The reverse is not however true. A child with a fairly high score in his wish for love has been sometimes found to be psychologically sick. The questionnaires however fortunately permit not only a quantitative appraisal but also help to more intimate psychological understanding of a child. They may be best understood as a list of searching questions, which try to shed light on many aspects of the child's love life. They reveal e.g. the child's fixations in love as well as the quantity and quality of his love-displacement, which let us know the stage the child has reached in his emotional development.

The child who undergoes a satisfactory all round emotional development, displays again a fairly large score in his wish to love. The development of the wish to love often greatly furthers the cause of a child's emotional stability, i.e., his mental health.

Most of our cases are boys. That is partly explained we intensively examined by the fact that there are a number of practical difficulties for a male psychologist to work in many of the girls' schools.

Finally we like to conclude by saying that our work has all the more convinced us of the need of a still more thoroughgoing and deeper work into the child's problem. In a very important sense the diagnostic and therapeutic works

re the same. A perfect understanding of a case involves digging deep into the buried complexes of the mind and this goes a great length to serve a therapeutic purpose. It is therefore necessary to undertake the medical task with a view to alleviate the suffering of children as well as to understand them. But that can be done to an effective extent only in adequately organised psychological clinics.

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 (Editor: The Nationalist Puja Special, 1945 (p. 104)

CASE-STUDIES IN THE BEHAVIOUR PROBLEMS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN

CHAPTER I

A CASE OF INHIBITED AGGRESSION*

Sishi is a boy of twelve years. He reads in the class V of a North Calcutta High School. With his mother he is living at his cousin brother's place. When he was only one year of age, his father and mother separated. Till 1941 he and his mother lived with his maternal grandfather. When the maternal grandfather died in 1941, they came to live at the present residence.

He scores highest in the Group Intelligence Test devised by Mr. Anathnath Basu and myself following Spearman. He scores 75, 1½ points more than the arithmetic mean score of the boys of class V of the same school. The happy deviation from the mean however, appears much less, if we compare it to the mean score of girls (Class V) of a Ballygunge School which is 71. We would therefore provisionally put him in the category of "intelligent or just above average." His score in the Performance Test† is extremely poor. It is 10, one of the lowest scores, the highest score and mean being 40 and 19.3 respectively.

His scholastic record, if not altogether bad, cannot be regarded as good, if his ability is taken into consideration. In the annual examination of the last year he stood second. In the half-yearly examination of this year he has occupied

* Report of the Director of the Calcutta University, Calcutta, Nagpur, 1945.

† The Test of the Intelligence and the Performance of a Group Test by Professor G. Basu. The test was conducted by the workers of the Applied Psychology Department, Science College, Calcutta, headed by Mr. D. Ganguly.

the fifth place. But the high place he occupies does not mean much when we learn that he got only 51.5% of the total marks.

It appears, therefore, that there is no great discrepancy between scholastic attainment and intelligence in his case. A different conclusion is here however suggested if we pursue the case of Rasik. In the Intelligence Test Rasik scores 10, the lowest of all scores, while in the half yearly examination he obtained 47% of the total marks. It may be said that Rasik has made fullest use of his poor intelligence. While no doubt Rasik shows how much an emotional balance can help a person of even inferior ability, his case also goes to suggest that Sasha has not been able to do justice to his greater giftedness. Here we may remind ourselves of the natural difficulties of a child who has to live with distant and generally not very sympathetic relations. It is not also a custom to give thought to a case unless the individual's failure in life is regarded extraordinary in proportion to his abilities. Let us, therefore, not be detained here.

I met him twice in interviews. He came rather poorly dressed. It transpired that two of his cousin brothers read in one of the best schools in Calcutta, which naturally charges a student high fees. On the other hand the school he reads in is frequented generally by poor students of the locality. It means that there is a discrimination at home. Yet he did not appear to resent discrimination. Perhaps he is made to believe that he receives as a favour whatever he receives at their hands. In him I got the impression of a sensitive boy who secretly yet intensely feels, but reluctantly expresses. He silently suffers along with his mother but for that he does not blame anyone excepting himself.

The replies he offered to our questionnaire are in many places unusual. He consistently displayed a very low opinion of himself. To the question, "State what are

your qualities," he replied with great dejection, "nothing." To the following questions his replies were:—

Do you think you are a good person?	Sometimes.
Do you feel that you will not do anything in life?	Often.
What do you think you look like?	Plain.
Have you ever been punished by your mother?	Yes.
On how many occasions?	Often.
Why?	Because I was naughty.
Have you ever been scolded at home?	Often.
What do you think of yourself?	Poor.
Does God love or punish men more?	Both loves and punishes.

In my first interview with him, when I asked him again what he thought of himself, he replied, "I am bad." Being questioned why he answered so, he said, "because I do not do what mamma asks me to do and I do not also read much at home."

Children's replies to the questions how often they have been punished and why they have been punished, throw interesting light on the development of their super-ego. A child who is frequently punished by his parents generally shows the marks of a strong sense of guilt. But the much more important thing in respect of the growth of a super-ego is the nature of a child's response to the punishment.*

* Here some words regarding the relation between administration of punishment and the growth of super-ego will not be out of place. The nearest scientific view about punishment is in the form of conditioned reflex. An ill-mannered and punishment constitutes a stimulus-response with relatively an inseparable positive relationship and the thought of one will automatically bring the thought of another. The moral can to be derived will be as following: The fear of punishment will deter the child from venturing into any similar offence. This view is sufficient to be a deterrent and fails to take account of the attitude of the child. The notion of inseparability between an offence and a punishment on which the advocates stand of punishment has no real

his elder brother is loved by the mother more than he and he says in answer to the question, "what do you like to do to your enemies?" that he is out to "take revenge."

We do not however suggest that Sasha's answer to this question is in any way unusual. As a matter of fact, most of the boys say, they have been punished because of their fault. This answer when taken with a few others only makes us a little apprehensive. In the temperamental profile there are some questions which aim at exploring the nature and volume of an individual's aggression directed toward the world and also incidentally measuring the quantity of aggression released. His answers to these questions are rather uncharacteristic. But let us state them first:—

- | | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| (a) Whom do you hate most? ... | None. |
| (b) Whom amongst your school teachers do you most dislike?† | None |
| (c) Whom amongst your school teachers do you like most?‡ | I like all equally |
| (d) What do you want to do to your enemies?§ | I like to treat them as brothers |
| (e) Do you ever feel angry with your parents? ... | (No response). |
| (f) Whom or which do you dislike most? ... | A bad boy |

The first five replies reveal that there is a powerful resistance in him against the expression of anger. His reply to (c) shows that he is not even ready to discriminate in his liking. He thinks that when he says that he likes some one, it is implied that he dislikes others.

* The usual answer is the name of some teacher or of some abstract quality. By saying we are an advocate of non-violence 92 per cent of the boys. But we must admit that none of the boys to this question has been giving quite frequently.

† The usual answer is the name of some teacher. I tried again and again to elicit from him some positive reply to this question in my second interview with him. Even after some urging he answered no way.

‡ He did not dislike any one. General responses were also evoked when I attempted to find out he disliked some one or some thing. He answered that he was not even ready to dislike but he was not ready to love at home who did not love him.

§ Most of the students say some thing like "I want to beat" to this question.

¶ The usual answer is "I want to beat."

The last reply is to be understood with some ingenuity. When he dislikes a bad boy, he does not dislike something there in the world. He dislikes himself—his bad self. The reader already knows that he considers himself to be bad. He of course wrote that he was fair. But we have found on good grounds, when a child writes 'fair' in reply to that question he usually means 'bad'. In case of Sashi he himself confirmed our belief in the interview. This gets also indirect confirmation from the results of the Word Association Test. I gave them a list of 75 words—a modified version of Burt's list. In his verbal reactions to these words there are 23 'bad'. Two stimulus words invite, by law of similarity, such reactions. But to most others it came as his subjective valuation. It is interesting to note, in his verbal reactions 'good' came almost as often as 'bad'. We shall not be probably wrong if we think when he says 'good', he often only means 'not bad'. These reactions are—as Jung calls them—'ego-centric predicates,' 'i.e., 'extremely subjective judgments which are obviously conditioned by desire and fear.

Sashi has lost much of the natural joy of a child's mind. His world is surcharged with the excessive feeling of good and bad. Sashi consciously shows more fear (according to the reports of the teachers—'he is a timid boy'), more a rule of super-ego than desire. He has taken over or imposed into himself that he must love the world and he must not hate the world. The world is not very sympathetic towards a child who does not enjoy his father's shelter. But because of fear of the hostility of the world against himself and his love of the mother, more truly because of fear of loss of love of the mother he cannot answer aggression with aggression.

He cannot destroy others. He cannot think others bad, he must think others good. Therefore it is only possible and natural for him to believe himself bad. The presence of a self-directed aggression reveals its unmistakable presence in him when he replies to the question, 'Have you

ever wished to die? " "Yes, sometimes," an unusual reply for a child as far as our experience goes.

In the interview I got the impression that he is extremely sensitive to his mother's sorrows (said, "my mother is very unhappy" with a feeling). That probably explains why he cannot give vent to anger towards others or to the mother since by doing that he can only enhance her suffering. We are inclined to believe that in the growth of a super-ego love (and therefore fear of loss of love which may result from indifference or the death of the lover) plays an essential part. When there is no love punishment aiming at the growth of a conscience would not achieve its purpose.

It may be said that his poor score in the Performance Test is the result of his taboo on aggression. Any specific inhibition tends to be a general one and gradually flows into other departments. The fear of one's own aggression perhaps would attack first of all the motor function since truly action is nearer aggression than thought. One who fears his own aggressiveness cannot do good in a test in which muscular exertion is necessary.

Finally his ego ideal shows the impoverishment characteristic of a person over-burdened with a sense of guilt. The feeling of inferiority has been unable to awaken in him "a superiority striving".*

His answers to the following questions are as follows:—

Have you decided what you want

to be when you grow up?

"I have not decided any thing."

What do you like to be when you

have grown up? †

"I want to be honest."

Why?

"So that I may be good."

* Prince Alexander considers that inferior feeling is a factor which inhibits feeling as initiative. In all such considerations it may be insisted upon that it pays more attention to the primary thing with primary and secondary feelings. The present case shows an interesting instance of the same. The child is unable to feel a superiority striving which is a normal reaction. That in a again explains why there is a lack of superiority striving in his life.

† These are exceptional cases. We have not found a second example in the group we examined.

He shows the mark of a fixation, a rigid "wish to be good," a relatively static quality. His ego-ideal does not show the progressive thrust, the dream of a future rich in its compensatory qualities.

Lastly we come to the child's feeling of happiness in life. Ella Sharpe² in her paper on The Technique of Psycho-analysis draws our attention to the part "justification of existence" plays in normal and abnormal minds. It would not be taking too much liberty with her thought if "joy of living" is substituted for "justification of existence."³ Indeed mental health, to a substantial degree, is an individual's happiness. Sashi lacks progressiveness in life (which, perhaps to a great extent means absence of sublimation). Let us now see if he is happy. He is not. To the question, "Are you unhappy?" he replies, "much."

We shall not discuss to any great length the love-life of the child. We may only say it possesses redeeming features. He loves his mother perhaps too much.⁴ But we found that he was not unwilling to love the world, more accurately, to be loved by the world. That means his case is not so disappointing as that of the child who has withdrawn into himself. Till 1941 he lived with his grandfather. The boy was treated tenderly by his grandfather. In my first interview with him Sashi began to shed tears silently. As if he spoke to the investigator by his tears, "I am unhappy would you please love me."⁵ Transference seems to be possible for him; therefore also probably recovery of his mental health.

² This was my first question when I saw him alone. "Name persons with whom you are getting on." He replied, "I stay with my mother."

"With whom else?" A little reluctantly he went on naming other persons—he got confused. Before concluding the interview I asked, "Have you said anything to the members of your family about my talk with you?" He replied,

"I have only told my mother and my uncle only. I was made to feel that the child and the mother remain united to each other by their joys and sorrows both living in an alien in an almost hostile world. This is indeed a grave danger. The child's excessive fondness for the mother and the distrust in the rest of the world are very much compatible to result in a strong mother fixation."

It has not been possible for us to understand exactly what part the absent father plays in the life of the child. He writes that his father is good and the father loves him much. In that he most probably reflects the opinion of his mother and also that he has a developed fantasy of his father.

The super ego of the child shows too much rigidity and also there is not much evidence to believe that the child has been able to sublimate or, to use the expression of Nietzsche, to spiritualise his cruelty. The child needs to release his aggression to some extent against the world. But if he is straightway led to do it, it will only lead to an unconscious conflict of a severe nature. He must be gradually freed, through the love-suggestion of a teacher, from the obsessive preoccupation of good and bad.

When we would delve deeper into his mind, in all probability we shall find an Unconscious, holding opposite attitude to his conscious protestations. He says, he believes that the world is good and he is only bad. But this is only a defence—a feeling resulting from great fear on his part—the consequence of his belief that the world is terribly bad and hostile.

At this moment the picture of the child's mind is that he is bad and he wants to destroy himself. In those the child has taken over into himself, the hostile attitude the world has taken against him.

It seems that the frequency of good and bad weather conditions depends on what part of the year is chosen. The most frequent weather conditions are the absence of significant weather changes. It seems that the most frequent weather conditions are the absence of significant weather changes. It seems that the most frequent weather conditions are the absence of significant weather changes.

Stimulus word		Reaction word
Night	...	bed
Laugh	...	crow
Dead	...	grave

ES _____ says in fact _____ says _____
 as a result _____ has not been the next two stimulus words he writes at _____
 moment in _____ is perhaps from his slight start when _____ the
 stimulus word _____ (stuck) as clear (stuck) and responds to it he _____

The self-punishing tendency has to some extent served to protect him against the hostility of the world. As soon as we shall uncover the self-destructive wish of the child, we shall encounter his terrible dread and anxiety regarding malicious intentions of the world against himself. As we delve deeper we shall discover lastly the child's desire to destroy the world.

To put synoptically: I The child tries to believe the world is good, to derive the assurance that the world will not destroy him and he will not destroy the world. II By considering himself bad he requests the world not to think him bad any more and also in that he betrays the fact that he wants to destroy the world.

Two feelings of fundamental importance in this child is therefore his wish to destroy and his fear to be destroyed. The child through his long contact with a psychologist must learn that his aggression and fear are not as potentially dangerous as he imagines. He would be encouraged to "test reality". He must see that he can give vent to some of his aggressive wishes at first with the psychologist without bringing upon him in return a death-dealing counter-aggression. With a profoundly reassuring effect he will learn that thereby he does not kill nor he is killed. He

is thus able to learn that he is not alone in his feelings. He is not the only one who has had the wish to kill. We are able to understand his feelings because we have had the same feelings.

Stimulus word	Reaction word
Mother	God
Sister	Bad
Bed	Be-shoot
Love	Not good
Woman	Bad
Kiss	Attracts
Darkness	(Reaction fails)

There are two directions in which my research has proceeded. I have tried to see how far the child will react to the Kiss-attracts and Be-shoot words. He shows both a wish and the aggressive goal. It is to be remembered that we have not been able to take his free associations to these words.

Our therapeutic task in this connection is clear. To help the child to face his sexual wishes without superstitious fear and perhaps also with a more courageous philosophy. Probably this part of the therapeutic task would be found easier than the task of leading him to face aggression.

must also know in the psychologist a person who can be steadfastly trusted in being able to restrain him gently from doing actual harm in anger, yet without any need of a recourse to punishment. In a word he comes to believe that there are forces of reality which hold power to save him from aggression of his own and of the world. The resolution of the complex of his "bad," in a sense sadistic, super-ego, frees his mind from its all-pervasive sway and opens up to him joys of life which are neither good nor bad, but natural.

The difficult part of the business is that in his case we can do little to improve home conditions by which we mean here relations between members of the family. The child needs in fact an extraordinary mental health to meet the adverse conditions of his life. Yet we think it is worth while to try. We believe it is possible to fortify him to face the reality at home by freeing him from overwhelming fear and enhancing greatly his power to endure frustration without developing correspondingly a great sense of guilt. The re-educative task will be greatly helped when we shall be able to convince the child of his aggressive wishes against the world. When it will be possible to remove greatly the resistance the child has set up in his mind against his aggression, there will be less need on his part to direct the affect inward and against himself. He will thus be endowed with a power to view things critically and at times with some degree of anger. When he will dare to think and say that there are lots of things in the world which are bad, the need of always regarding himself alone as bad would disappear.

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CHAPTER II

THE PROBLEM OF A PET CHILD

Anadi is a boy of 10 years and 7 months. His father was a clerk in a Government office, who died at the end of 1940. He is the youngest of seven sons of his parents. He has no sister. The family is fairly well off, perhaps owns a few houses in Calcutta. Both the grand-father and the grand-mother of the child are living and they usually live with him. He is his grand-mother's pet.

He scores 74 in the Group Intelligence test just one less than the highest score. In the Binet-Simon test he gets 20, a score near mean which is 19.3. The marks he obtains in the examination are poor. They are only 28.8% of the total. In fact he fails. The case, therefore, has some claims on our attention as an individual problem, i.e., a problem to the individual himself.

I tried to elicit the reason of his failure by asking him directly about it in an interview. He says that his elder brothers almost always play cards at home. He does not find a quiet nook for his study. We believe that to be partly true. That incident moreover summarises the entire discipline or, to put more correctly, the lack of discipline prevailing at home. It is a house of a poor cultural heritage. The father did not pass any University examination nor did his sons. Moreover the father is no longer there to impose restrictions on the conducts of his children. They enjoy all the fruits and freedom of the benign rule of their mother and grand-parents. Medborg I' thinks that the fear of punishment plays an essential part in the discipline of a child. For this child the father does not live to be feared. So far as the mother is concerned the child says, "I fear her moderately according to the grandmother's report. He fears her little". Add to this the child has been rarely punished at home, and that for "neglect of duties"—a

very vague expression. But let us neglect on such a point. The boy admits to me, he reads very little at home. But the guardian does not seem to know that. He reports the boy studies moderately at home.

We have already stated in Chapter I that a child's answer to the question "why punished" throws very significant light on the development of his super-ego. Anadi responds to that question without responding. The failure of response results there are other evidences which we shall presently put forward from his hesitation to locate responsibility. He says, "I often quarrel with my immediate elder brother, mainly because of my fault. But this ready admission of his own guilt was calculated to appease elders and it lacked depth of sincerity. To the question what do you think of yourself, he writes "good." To the stimulus word "anger" he responds by saying "good."

Both Ias and his guardian's statements agree that the mother's most favourite child is his elder brother. That explains his constant quarrel and rivalry with the brother. To the question "whom do you want to hate most" he first of all writes, "elder brother" crosses it and writes "friends" instead. His answer to the question "what do you want to do to your enemies" betrays his real feeling. He wants to "take revenge" he has been wronged. No doubt the child can feel like that since there is no greater gift to a child than mother's love and one who seems to deprive him of that is his greatest enemy.

Yet he is the youngest child of the mother. There is no doubt that she loves him too. He himself writes so. When I met him he even went so far as to say that he was the favourite. That expresses most of the wish to be first in the mother's eyes, but probably also to some extent a natural wound on his part in respect of that question. Such a child, through further to the grand-mother's love for him, has not greatly substituted narcissism for object

love. He has not despaired of love. He still hopes to be first. He says, he does not like his brother's going away. He wants to experience the pleasure of battle and victory.

His plea reflects both his love and anger. His answers to questions are as follows —

Q. Have you decided what you want to do when you grow up?

A. Engineer.

Q. What do you aim to be when you grow up?

A. "I shall write poems."

Q. Why?

A. "My name will remain in the minds of people."

Engineer, he says, can repair things and therefore is a very useful person. His destructive rage which originates mainly in his jealousy is causing him much anxiety and he therefore wants to acquire a power by which he can retaliate. But engineer also destroys. By being an engineer he will therefore be able both to destroy and re-create. The relation that love-frustration and love-aspiration bear to political ambition is well-known. Out of 31 children only one boy besides him puts down the expression "my name will remain in the minds of people" as reasons of his ambition. It is interesting to observe that both the children find reasons to grieve upon for being less preferred by their mothers. It is not at all unintelligible if they dream of getting back the full or at least greater share of mother-love by attaining distinction in life.[†]

We do not think that it is possible to deny the presence of a progressive urge in life along with a regressive one. Yet it is not without its lessons to discover in our study that both the cases of ambition[‡] receive important incitement

He wrote Engineer, crossing the word poet. That shows the dominance of love and hope inside him.

† Haseltine has observed that the ambition is at bottom a wish to love. I have seen in this case an even deeper meaning, namely, a wish to be loved. I have seen a boy, during a school travel, who had a very low opinion of himself, and who felt that it was a pity that he was not an athlete. A day or two after he had to be a boxer he began to feel that his intention does not lose its value. I have found that underlying dreams of social service often other egoistic motives.

from love frustration. That warns us not to overvalue the role of unrelated instincts, and asks us to pay much greater attention to the part an instinct is called upon to play by a family situation in the family constellation.

We have already mentioned that the child is the pet of his grandmother. Now the grandmother's love is somewhat different from the love of the mother. The widespread opinion regarding it is generally true, her love is indulgence. She finds it difficult to say "no" to her pet—often.

We shall not make any attempt here to understand the underlying motives of the grandmother's love. We should better describe some of its characteristics which would enable us to understand more clearly the character of Anadi. It is often easy to find that a grandmother greatly enjoys child's dependence on her and tries to keep it alive using sometimes very ingenious means. It cannot be denied that to some extent mothers, at least some of them, partake of these characteristics which led Adler to discover power motive in all love. But one should not overstate this case. The mother's love (when the mother is very much normal) is in its essence child-centered, i.e., its most important concern is neither her pleasure nor her power but the well-being of the child. The grandmother's love sadly contrasts to it for the former's egotistic flavour.

The evolution of a child's life is to be understood by reference mainly to two principles. A child at first lives by dependence on elders. Gradually he acquires power and pursues increasingly the path of self-help. It may be said, as dependence on elders does not adequately satisfy one's manifold wishes one likes to gain independence. But the indulgent child lives greatly in a magic world. If wishes and his wishes are quickly fulfilled. He derives more by dependence than what is possible for him as a child by independence.* He remains therefore quite happy on love-dependence, if only during the earlier part of his childhood, and does not feel tempted to pass on to the next higher

* See Chapter VI

stage of development, *etc.*, self-help. But by that time, the dependence has become a character with him. This may be taken as a rough picture of the history of the present case.

It has been made evident to us that this boy has built his entire life on the urge to be loved. During all the days of group testing he forced himself again and again into my attention on hundred trivial pretexts. In the temperamental profile wherever there is any question concerning his father he has taken care to write a bold letter: "My father has died," while the explicit instruction of the examiner was to omit the answer of the question.* Its implication is clear. Since he is a fatherless child, the examiner ought to love him. The answers he supplies to the questions regarding the self-regarding attitude bear out the point. We shall state them first:—

Do you ever feel lonely? Sometimes.

What do you think you look like? Plain.

Have you ever wished to die? Sometimes †

What do you think of yourself? Good.

His reply to the last question is markedly different from the quality of his other replies. The reply is intelligible if we know the relation, and frequently bears to love. He shrewdly understands if one is bad, one would not be loved. He wants love, therefore he says, he is good. It may be believed that to some extent he regards himself good as he has been loved fairly well. We have found in our study that a morally depreciatory self-regarding attitude correlates fairly tightly with one's being less loved or not loved. Regarding other ego items he probably writes what he considers is true. Besides for a child who needs love there

* The boy has never discussed his father who had died.

† The wish to die is one of the characteristics of the low self-esteem which frequently is noted in the case of the child.

is no harm in attributing them, they are likely to evoke my pity.

His personality was typically expressed in his babyish behaviour in the interview. He knows from his own experience that babies are loved most. When he writes, "babies are most happy" he expresses his wish to remain a baby.

The boy shows other characteristic attitudes of a child who is prisoner of his urge to be loved. The grand mother to an undesirable extent has made him dependant on her, but she is unable to make him love her in the better sense of the term. Such a boy remains self-centred with all its unfortunate consequences. Anadi writes "I have no friends." In other words it has not been possible for him to develop such interests in his school-fellows and playmates which would have enabled him to regard them as friends. To have friends one must give as well take. In other words, friendship entails renunciation which in the best instances flows from the urge to love, and for which he appears mostly unprepared.

The inability to love his school-fellows is partly determined by his jealousy and hostility towards his brothers especially the brother who precedes him by one year and whom he regards as the mother's favourite. He talked depreciatingly of his brothers though he wrote, he loves his eldest brother most. The eldest brother is much older than the child, therefore the former can be invested in the mind of the child with qualities of his father. His school-fellows however resemble his immediate elder brother, they consequently evoke his anger much more than his love*. The boy remains elder minded (since he is ego-minded), an attitude Susan Isaacs¹ has found common to children of tender age.

Anadi is not happy. He has at times even wanted to die. That is partly explained by the fact that he is not his mother's favourite. But the reason also partly lies in his

* The teacher's report says he is a bully, quarrelsome, etc.

being too much loved by the grandmother, to put more correctly, in the resultant dominant disposition of his unquenchable thirst after being loved. As a child grows up he has to make contact with the wider reality. But if he comes to the world with the mind of a baby he is soon painfully disillusioned—since it is not the nature of the reality to mother for shall we say, grandmother?) a child. As a consequence he becomes angry—angry with the world and with himself.

Anadi does not lack ideal. He says, he has it more than one. It may appear therefore his is a life of progress. But we remember progress owes more to one's capacity of sublimation than to the development of a high ideal. We know even more. Neurotics most often have high flown ideals and relatively little power of sublimation. And neurosis partly owes its existence to the wide difference between ambition and accomplishment. Though Anadi shows some taste in poetry and music his life is, on the whole, one which shuns exertions. During his babyhood he has experienced too little frustration in his dependance on elders. It is moreover the fate of a pet child to enjoy too little opportunities to exert and achieve. Too little power-gratification and too much love-dependance have engendered in Anadi a pleasure-loving indolent disposition. He therefore fails in the examination which may be taken as a prelude to the coming failure in his life.

Recommendations :

Anadi shows what is generally regarded as a defect in character-development. The sentiment he has grown, though may not be pathogenic, is of harmful nature since the battle of life, for a man at least, is to be won mainly by heroism and not by crying and whining. Yet, in a more civilized form, crying as one of the strongest appeal for love would always occupy some place in life. But Anadi has overdone such a sentiment. It needs important modification. The modification may follow upon a gradual readjustment of the environmental factors. He must be

given living experiences to revise his relationship with other human beings. We should further encourage him to use his intelligence (he is an intelligent child) in order to construct a more correct philosophy of life. Intelligence is a dynamic fact; it is able to effect — and usually it is not pushed against a combination of overwhelming emotional forces.* The most important lever is, however, the child's transference *i. e.*, the child's ability to love. It has been found that he quickly attaches himself to elders. That love should be made use of in initiating him to useful work and play.

Let us here stop for a moment to state what the boy needs. They are chiefly (1) a life of work and (2) a more reasonable attitude — greater interest in, and as far as possible love towards the boys of his own age.

To achieve the second thing the approach must be made through play. Shall we remember here what Murray and Smith have written, "And by play enjoyed in common, the feeling of community which is present in the little child is raised to the recognition of the right of others?"³ He should be encouraged to play with his school-fellows at first under the supervision of a teacher (elder). The child had occasion to resent injustice of his mother. It seems likely therefore that he would appreciate justice on the part of the teacher in attitude which the teacher must strictly maintain. All through the earlier stages what should be carefully borne in mind is that the child is interested in all such pursuits mostly because he is interested in the love and attention of the teacher. If the teacher withdraws, the boy will immediately lose the much greater portion of his interest in the games.

If the teacher does not become impatient, the child will gradually learn to value his class-fellows as his play-mates. He would also learn the valuable lessons of social adjustment, since in order to play, players must learn to adjust to each other. It is yet not love for his fellow beings.

* Intelligence helps a person to make a wholesome social adjustment. That explains why "The intelligent person is more likely to be liked than persons of less than average intellectual competence."

There is much egotism and selfishness in a child's play. The long familiarity and the emergence of emotional qualities in adolescence would probably make him love them fairly.

We shall now consider how to lead him to make greater efforts and exertions in the scholastic sphere. There is a keen feeling of rivalry in him. To a moderate degree it may be made use of, if of course he does not react to a situation of rivalry with too great an anger or too much of distress. Perhaps he will not. If he is able to take rivalry in a sporting spirit it will, in addition, render to him a cathartic service. This approach needs that he is to be treated as an individual within a social milieu. He will however need a good deal of more attention in the early stages than what as a schoolboy he usually gets. The teacher is not advised at present to establish an exclusive relation with the boy. That would be playing perhaps the grandmother's part in the latter's life. As a process it is uneconomical and also seems to have lesser chances of success. We would rather suggest, let the teacher take the role of his parents but be a better parent to him than the parents themselves.

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CHAPTER III

A CHILD'S FEAR

Lala is a small girl of three years and two months. She has been recently admitted into a nursery school. She is the second in order of three children— all daughters— of her parents. Her age difference with the eldest and the youngest child are two years and eighteen months respectively. Her father is a physician and is fairly well off. Her mental age tested by our Bengali Revision of the Stanford Revision test appears three years and three months.

It was reported that Lala was very troublesome to her mother principally because of her timidity. A loud sound, a strange or a fast moving object terrifies her and her fear seems to be on the increase. While other children go and play she keeps near her mother and as soon as she perceives something fearful, she runs to her mother's lap for shelter. It is a physically tiring business the mother occupies to take out the child for a walk. The mother narrated a recent experience. One afternoon she went out with two of her elder children for a stroll. When they came to a main road, Lala on seeing the running trams and buses showed signs of fear and asked mother to carry her in maternal arms. When the mother refused and threatened to return home, Lala showed willingness to compromise. She said that she would return to a quieter and less crowded part of the locality.

Lala, frustrated in her wishes, would cry unremittently and for quite a long time. Another characteristic of her crying is that she cries very loudly. She seems to be little introverted and usually plays alone games of sedentary nature.

Her mother complained of another peculiarity of the child. She has already acquired the habit of going and passing stool at the lavatory. But for sometime she occasionally defecates at some corner of the bed room or secretly below the cot. She passes stool and deposits it at some hidden corner and does not let the mother know anything about it. As a result she does not get the necessary wash usual after the practice. This dirty practice, it is not difficult to understand, exasperated the mother no little.

No amount of scolding and beating is of any help. The child obstinately pursues her queer practice.

One day I happened to gain an experience which allowed me an important insight into the child's psyche and her behaviour. I took the child for a walk as I found her crying, her mother with the eldest daughter being out on a social call. I promised to buy her some chocolates and went to the same main road to convince myself of the child's fear. Curiously enough I found no signs of fear in her and she made no request to be carried. She all along displayed the curiosity natural for a child and went on watching trains and buses. Coming home she shared like her elder sister, her chocolates with a boy.

The facts mentioned above revealed an important truth. It showed us that a child responds to a total situation and not merely to a portion of it. A part derives its psychological significance for the child from the whole or more truly, from the more important part—here the human part in the whole. In the above case the presence of mother makes all the difference. The child likes to enjoy the sheltering and comforting physical contact of the mother, therefore she feels afraid at the sight of running trains and buses. The fear in other words, serves a purpose and is sustained by the 'secondary gain' she derives from it. But how does the child come to fear running trains and buses while she is with her mother? All that we know from experiments of Behaviourist and observations of psychoanalysis is that an object can make one afraid if it is associated in

conscious or unconscious mind with an object of original fear. A careful enquiry into the home life of the child revealed that the child is not enjoying security of love at home. Her father openly shows his preference to her eldest sister and for her crying she often experiences loud scolding from her father. The mother is yet too young to be a mother, not she is temperamentally a maternal type. Besides whatever attention the child used to get from her mother, has been usurped by the new arrival. The child has not been able to reconcile herself to such deprivation. She frequently says that the charge of the baby should be left to the eldest sister while the mother should take charge of the former. This however has not been done. It is intelligible therefore that in the proximity of the mother Lila's fear of losing the mother will be evoked. A sense of insecurity encourages regression and though she is a child of three she likes to be treated as a baby. The coming and going away of the buses most probably in her eyes stand for the mother whose contact once she almost always enjoyed and which has been comparatively rare nowadays. It perhaps also stands for her father who will snatch away her mother from her. Her fear of moving buses and trains therefore is a displaced fear of losing the mother. When the mother has however left her, the child feels she has lost the former. Then the fear is not operative since one fears to lose but can only grieve over a lost love.

This account does not yet mention what part the child's aggression has played. Even a general consideration suggests that the frustration of the child must have evoked a good deal of aggression in her against her parents. The child's obstinate defiance of the rules in respect of the passing of stools shows that the child is angry with her mother. A child values her stool and as she is angry she will not give that to mother, nor will she obey the mother by going to the lavatory, which perhaps means giving her faeces to the mother in another way.

As Lila is angry, it is quite natural that she wants in a child's fashion her mother's death. This has been follow-

ed by an equally powerful fear lest that should actually happen. Such a child would again fear most—with an unconscious belief in the talion law—that she would be abandoned by her mother as a punishment for wishing her mother's death. Lala's fear therefore of a bus or of a loud sound is as much fear on her account as for her mother. She can relieve her anxiety by clinging to the mother and keeping near her. She suffers from a sense of insecurity with accompanying anxiety. This insecurity and anxiety we are inclined to believe, are more directly related to the child's aggression against her mother and consequent sense of guilt.

I have been a substitute in her eyes for her father. As I am behaving to her what her father usually behaves to her elder sister, she takes the role of her sister. To win the mother's love she wishes to be a baby (regression). To win the father's love, she wishes to be her elder sister (progression). The urge to progress or regress is not an unrelated psycho fact in one's life. A child wishes to be loved and chooses mainly the path of progression or regression in response to facts in the total environment. Lala by the fact of being pacified and going with me to buy chocolate shows her willingness to compensate the loss of her mother's love by the love of her father. With me she is not afraid, most probably because she does not yet value the love of the father as much as she values that of the mother nor like mother's love she had it once and lost it now.

The observations show that a child is very much more sensitive to the human part of the environment. They also argue that any atomistic or mechanistic approach to explain and understand child's fear would prove inadequate.

Such a child can be helped only if we can successfully attack the central complex in her life. This can be done to an important extent, in the absence of a psychoanalyst, if parents are willing and able to take a different attitude towards the child.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL ADJUSTMENT OF DEFICIENT CHILDREN*

A Few Psychological Consequences of the Failure

The successful social adjustment of a person essentially turns upon his willingness and ability to meet the social demand made on him. The frequent failures of deficient children are mostly due to the fact that the family, the school, and the wider society continue to make *relatively excessive* demand on them, i. e. demands more than what they are able to meet with their innately dwarfed general intellectual ability. The failure in life is inevitably followed by a series of other psychological consequences of anti-individual and anti-social nature.

The extent of social demand made on deficient children varies very largely in different social spheres. Children with almost similar intellectual abilities are in some cases treated as most shameful failures while in others pass as fairly satisfactory, e. g. a child with 70 as his I. Q. is relatively a normal person in a family of unskilled manual workers. If he does not suffer from an additional deficiency in his motor aptitude, other things being fairly well, he will go on executing all his life's duties. A child with such an I. Q. in the family of a professional is a source of untold worries and vexations since he is relatively so little educable in the scholastic sense of the term. It is not understood how he can earn a living without losing self respect since he cannot learn his father's trade or one akin to it.

Children's repeated failures to perform the tasks allotted to them and the eventual social disdain with which

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they are met cannot but lead to a deep emotional repurcussion in their mind. They begin to hate themselves as well as the society. When excessive it leads to overt behaviour of serious consequences.

By deficient children we mean those boys and girls whose I.Q. is less than 85*. We shall discuss here four cases, two of whom are boys and two girls. All of them were tested by our Bengali Revision of the Stanford Revision Test.†

The following table mentions the age—chronological and mental, of the children, classes of schools in which they read, and their approximate I.Q.‡

	Sex	Chronological Age	Mental Age	Class	I.Q.
I	Male	17 yrs.	10 yrs. 6 months	VII	75
	Female	14 yrs. 5 months	10 yrs. 3 months	VII	73
II	Male	14 yrs.	8 yrs. 3 months	IV	59
	Female	13 yrs. 6 months	7 yrs. 6 months	III	65

A and B belong to the group of 'dull and backward' as Burt understood them while C and D may be regarded as feeble minded or educable defectives.

A is physically quite healthy possessing average height. He appears very slow in movement and he writes very slowly using bold scripts. The hand he writes does not seem to be better than that of a student of Class V. Dull children are generally slow in their motor movement

* The general custom is to regard 70 (I.Q.) as the dividing line. We have however considered for reasons which are important backward children also as deficiently intelligent.

† Though the Bengali Revision is not standardized we have examined a sufficient number of cases to claim for it a workable value. There can be however some objection against the use of the older version as there is a very high correlation between the Stanford Revision and the Terman Merrill Crowl Tests for the age groups we tested.

‡ In cases of A and B we have assumed that they have reached the peak of their intelligence at 14 years. We have more reliable evidence in case of B to show that B reached her mental maturity even before 14. She was tested once before on 23.3.42 and was found to possess an I.Q. as high as 75. Calculating with that I.Q. she appears to have attained the peak at the age of 13 years 9 months. But it is a wiser procedure to place the peak at 14 years since by I.Q. we compare a person's intelligence with that of other human beings and at 14 years most persons reach their mental maturity.

but he is still more slow. He takes almost half an hour to brush his teeth. His arithmetic attainment is more backward than his attainment in literature or in history and geography. He appeared lonely. His mother reports that he cannot mix with his equals nor does he like to mix with younger boys. This is explained in this way. Though he lacks intelligence he has greater information than boys and girls of his mental age. The more important reason is that emotionally he has neared adulthood and one's play, the findings of Terman suggest,² bears the mark of emotional age in addition to the intellectual one.

He does not like his equals. He is a proud boy and he will not tolerate their jeers, nor is he ready to take the humble situation he will have to take to be in their company.

A belongs to a family of successful professionals. His father is an well-known lawyer and the other members of the family are accomplished doctors and lawyers. People belonging to the professions are generally known to possess high grade intelligence. Additional confirmation of that general belief comes from their enviable success in life and the impression gained of them in my interview.

Amidst such a group of intelligent people A's dulness appears all the more marked. Moreover, he has younger sisters who have surpassed him in their educational attainment. While he is reading in Class VII and that again with difficulty, they have passed their matriculation and are reading in colleges. It is an insult both to his age and to his manhood.

The boy is fortunate in some respects. He need not earn his living as the paternal property bequeathed to him would relieve him of such a necessity. It is to be, however, noted that he is not a landlord who thinks that the exertion to earn one's living is shameful or education is only appropriate for the class beneath him. He is a member of the middleclass. But thanks to his father's fortunes, he will not starve even if he does not earn. It is however evident that there is a sting. He needs not earn because he is unable

Thus he minds. Though his mother says he should not sit for the matriculation examination he says he must pass it.

It was made clear to me that he is suffering from a painful feeling of inferiority and he is striving his utmost to compensate it by his superior attainment. His general slowness in motor movement has been already mentioned. According to the mother's report, for about a year, he has begun to walk very fast. If one sees him while walking it will be apparent that he has to exert himself much more than others to perform such a task. But for him it is not a pleasant exercise but a desperate effort to blot out the blemish that he is retarded in his movement retarded in his life.*

The growth of an inferiority complex is directly determined not so much by one's failures as by emotions evoked by them. The path of such a complex is paved when one is led to feel that he fails when others around him succeed. Inferiority complex thus results from the frustration of the powerful urge to rivalry which resides within every heart. In the growth of inferiority complex social opinion plays also a very important part. The influence exerted on a person by human beings is much greater than the influence of anything else. A child tends to assume an attitude towards his failures similar to the attitude taken by the person near him. According to McDougall³ the child's opinion regarding himself is mostly a reflected opinion of him held by other people.

Parents and other relations thus make the child painfully conscious of his inferiority. It therefore rouses his anger. A child who because of his subnormal constitutional ability is unable to gratify his aggression to some degree by making himself really superior will tend to suffer from an agonising hatred towards such persons. A, by one answer of his, shows that he has little faith in the

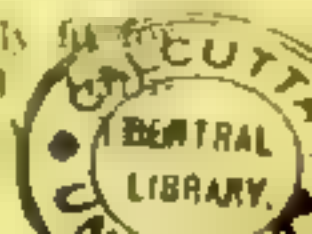
* Sigmund Freud thinks the strong behaviour is an inhibited expression of sadness.

benevolence of human beings. To the question "If a boy hits you by accident, without meaning to, what should you do then?" He replied, "I shall scold him." To my statements, "If he says, I have not hurt you intentionally," he replied, "I shall not believe in his statement." This question is appropriate to the 8 years age-level and he succeeded in all the questions of 8 years level excepting two. We are inclined to believe, both the mistakes are due to emotional reasons. The boy has particular reason to feel inimical towards other children. He has been surpassed by his younger sisters and children generally express their opinion about persons quite unchecked by any consideration of pity.

Besides his striving for superiority to compensate for his loneliness, he displays wishes to mend. To the question "What ought you to do, if you broke something that belonged to somebody else?" he replied, "I shall mend it." To the question, "supposing it is made of glass," he again said, "Perhaps there is something to join the broken pieces of glasses so that they may cleave together." As I was examining his watch, it accidentally fell from my hand. I picked it up and asked him, "If it is broken what will you expect me to do?" "You will mend it," was his reply. He feels sorely that he is a defective child and no wonder he wishes to mend himself. He displays multitudinous wishes to mend, the great part of this energy coming from his central wish to grow into a normal person.

A very much different picture is presented by B. Her parents do not think much of her scholastic education. So she is not a problem. Her father does a clerical job and no member of the family has got any university education. The education of girls is considered a luxury and besides she will not have to earn her living. Her brothers have passed the matriculation and are reading in colleges but she is a girl and is the youngest member of the family.

She is reading in Class VII but she is truly fit for Class V. She is particularly bad in English and metric. She is also slow but not as slow as



slowness does not appear so ridiculous because she is not led to believe like A that it is a stigma.

Two other facts have placed her in a more advantageous position than A. She belongs to the lower middle class and she is a girl. She is therefore regularly occupied in the household duties along with her mother, duties which A shuns as unworthy. One of the reasons of unhappiness of A is that he has so little to do in his life. His mother, a highly intelligent woman showed maternal concern for the recreational activities of the boy, which are bound to be so few. But she, like most persons, is unable to go beyond her middle class prejudice to recommend for the boy a prescription of manual work. When there should be greater influx of reality—direct experience of concrete things and events—in the education of such a child, A's education shows that there is even smaller real experiences than what an average intelligent child enjoys. The boy knows all simple computations of arithmetic but he fails to recognise the common coins like double pice and eight anna bits.

B's inferiority feeling revolves not so much around her ability as around her appearance and complexion. She is not bad looking, but she is dark-complexioned. She has been led to believe that her dark complexion is her greatest defect. This shows that it is not the intrinsic nature of the deficiency that leads to the growth of inferiority complex but mostly the importance society attaches to it led to some extent by biological considerations.

If we compare B with girls of her age, she does not seem to be particularly unhappy. She is quite friendly with girls of her age with whom she does not feel sharply the great difference. Girls generally live in more concrete spheres of thought and tradition and woman's society does not encourage much abstract and universal thinking.

She is destined not to make any headway in her educational attainment. But her parents seemed to be already resigned to that fact and she is not coaxed and cajoled to attempt what is impossible for her to attain. In a year or

two she hopes to be married. If it is a good one, she will live her life happily in spite of her small innate intellectual ability.

Because of the environment, C's intellectual deficiency has resulted in positive delinquent conducts. He has been known to steal and he frequently beats his brothers and sisters.

He is an intermediate son of a school teacher of a high's neurotic type. The boy lost his mother early in his childhood. The step-mother in the family is a non-entity. The family is poor but the members of the family are educated and highly intelligent. His young brother reads in the next higher class of the school. The family is education-minded and it is believed there that he can earn his living only by being educated. His failure in scholastic education is therefore taken too seriously. He has to endure a lot of humiliation especially at the hands of his brothers.

He is, however, treated with excessive kindness by his father. The father wants to shelter him from an unsympathetic world. But it is equally dictated by the father's wish that the child should continue to depend on him. He encourages every whim of the child and prohibits nothing. It is neurotic grandmotherly love and not love of an average father. One fact will make the point clear. C, a boy of fourteen years still sleeps with his parents on the same bed in spite of the protests of other elder members of the family. The father likes his son to remain always near him.

The boy consequently has developed a pleasure-loving disposition. The father, though poor, pays for the boy's visits in the local cinemas. The boy adds to his income by stealing from his own house. The father has a bad temper and the boy imitates him by violently abusing the female members of the family.

The boy is a feeble-minded child. The studies recommended are wholly beyond his power. He is therefore simply uninterested and has even grown an aversion for

scholastic affairs—which neither A nor B displayed to any degree. He shows feelings of inferiority. He says, he is never praised, he thinks that he will not be able to do anything in life, that he has no merits. The feeling of inferiority has little stimulated him to strive for compensating it by superior achievements. The reason is that the gulf between the scholastic attainment expected of him and his ability to fulfil the expectation is too wide. The other important reason lies in the boy's wish to remain small.

He mentions that he is young and hence worthless. This has a motive. He wants others to be loving and kind to him. Due to the father's encouragement of the child's dependance on him, it has become a fixed and the most important principle in the life of the child. In other words he remained emotionally an infant in addition to his intellectual childhood. He craves mostly to get and little to achieve or to give in his life. Stealing is the easiest way of earning money especially when he knows he has no need to fear punishment. The boy needs money to buy sweets and tickets for cinema shows. Incidentally stealing gratifies his anger born out of frustration and humiliation he meets as a deficient child. Occasionally he expresses it by his violent conduct.

D is a teenage girl besides being an epileptic. Because of the present tradition, a foolish person is laughed at while in all one is more often pitted. D's illness draws greater attention and in the absence of mother (D lost the mother when she was only a baby and is the only daughter of the father) she enjoys the sheltering affection of the father. The father is greatly devoted to her daughter. This has led to the deepening of the wish, as we have seen in the case of C, to remain emotionally an infant. The girl loves herself in the bodily sense and also her pleasures. She is not unhappy that she is inferior or that she is an epileptic. With a blissful and beaming face she narrated to me her 'unhappiness'. A genuine unhappiness, it may be incidentally remarked, can arise only in person who feels inferior but wishes to be superior.

She can read little, but she does not mind it nor does anyone. Her advantage is that of an ill person and of a female. She takes some part in the household work though not much. She has her sorrows but her sorrows are not those of A or C.

We shall now draw a few conclusions from our above cited study. First, deficient children should be protected from social humiliation even more than from actual frustration. Children are very cruel. The effect of segregation of deficient children from the normal ones and a school or a class of deficient children are mostly to their benefit. We make a dull and backward child highly unhappy by too much expectation of scholastic attainment compared to his inferior ability.

This fact has been illustrated by a certain difference in lot between deficient boys and girls according to our expectation of their attainment. The boys are affected very adversely by their deficiency while for girls the deficiency up to a limit is often of no serious consequence.

Girls of the middle class society live a more sheltered life. Reminded too often and too unkindly of their failures and defects, boys tend to become neurotic or delinquent. Deficient children like all children need the tonic of successful and effective work. The advantages of middle class homes for deficient girls convince us of the importance of manual work for most deficient children who are not idiots or lower grade imbeciles. As far as the purpose of scholastic education is concerned there is no point as Burt⁴ rightly thinks in making children do "handwork, as merely handwork." But there is place for useful handwork in the life of older deficient children unrelated to scholastic aim. Such pursuits keep children usefully occupied and the consciousness of their usefulness makes children happy. We shall do positive harm to deficient children if we encourage ambition in them beyond their power. In their lives the principle of happiness should be always stressed. In this connection we must help deficient children to make good use of their leisure hours as well

boy which stealing symbolically gratifies. The boy is not however a habitual thief and at this moment—thus we can take as a neutral fact—his abandoned stealing.

Let us first of all give a summary account of six cases, one after another. All of them are boys. A is the eldest of them, he is fourteen years of age and reads in class VIII. He is the son of a well-placed officer in a reputed bank. He is fairly good in studies—usually obtains over 50% marks in examinations—and seems to be very intelligent. He is physically weak, appears to be timid and though leading a small group is reserved and unobtrusive so long as he is in the school-crowd. A and B are two brothers. B is younger than A by 1 year. B reads in class IV. He appears to be less intelligent and is tolerable in his studies—just manages to pass examinations. He seems less emotional and less communicating than his elder brother, though he is less shy in the school-crowd. They are not habitual thieves. They have practised small deceptions with their mother whom they have cheated in the matter of paying school fees. They are members of the same group, the leadership being enjoyed by the elder brother who initiated stealing and contrived plans to avoid detection. The plans were more or less meekly worked out by his younger brother who shares the spoils of their joint stealing perhaps a little less with his elder brother. They stole a moderate amount of money from their mother's trunk where money was kept. A further confessed that he had once stolen a four anna bit or a rupee—he was not sure of the amount—from the pocket of his eldest brother. It was made clear to us that he stole from parents or parent-like persons: eldest brother was much older than he, the age of the former being above 30, and he confined his stealing within the family circle. And he remembers to have done all the stealing between the ages of thirteen and fourteen.

How they stole was graphically described by A. B slept with the mother. Without letting the mother know, he took the key, handed it over to A who opened the box and took away the money and the key was restored by B to

the proper place. According to the report, the stealing from mother's cash box did not exceed four times. The detection of their last theft, though, they were not suspected as thieves dissuaded them from further adventure. A poor servant was suspected and severely reprimanded before their eyes for an offence which he did not commit but which they did. When asked they said that they stole mainly for the advantage of the stolen money. It enabled them to buy flower tubes, crabs, tea, train and bus rides. They with their dogs, horses, paid their restaurant bills. In a word, the money allowed them to enjoy pleasures otherwise inaccessible to them. Some of these pleasures were even forbidden by the train and bus ride that they could take accompanied by any elder.

The stealing, therefore, agree with a young woman who used to steal quite frequently as a child, gave them a joy of adventure. They were doing something dangerous. Anxiety gave them pleasure probably because it was inconsciously associated to some positive gratification of a forbidden nature. The stealing further reminded A of hunting. On the stimulus 'you are opening the mother's trunk' he gave the following spontaneous association: 'When I was a child of six, I used to hunt bees and kill them with the help of a bamboo-made sword. Then I and my sister played bridegroom and bride to each other. Hunting is seeking and killing etc. is a much better and a sexier stealing. Opening mother's trunk with the sexual act which poets sometimes choose to describe as sexual hunting. The ages five and six and the ages thirteen and fourteen we know quite have striking similarity as they both represent the height of one's sexual feelings.

Some of the objects and services they buy with their money suggest sexual pleasure and purpose only scarcely covered. It is not at all forbidden to argue powerful sexual significance of flowers or rhythmic motions of moving bodies they enjoyed.

A complained that they were given no pocket money. They did not at times even know how to pay subscription to the athletic club to which they belonged. If they had to eat, it was all their mother's fault. She monopolised all the money earned by the father and spent them in any manner she liked. A evinced great bitterness against his mother. In his free association the bitterness was still more explicit. A expressed his rivalry with his mother on the father's money or on the father's love. He showed violent anger on that score. "I do not love my mother, I hate her. My father gave all the money to the mother, none to me."

Mother kept all money in her box (କବ୍ଜା)—in her womb (କବ୍ଜା). My father is a fool and my mother is a knave.

She is married and I am not. The money belongs to the father and not to the mother. If she was his wife, we were his children. We demand equality and justice."

The above associations were quite consistent with the character of A. He said he loved his father much (though he feared him too), while he loved the mother only moderately. In fact he hated his mother more than he loved her. Naturally he did not like that his father would love his mother so much and be so much dominated by her. He wanted to be more to his father than his mother was to the father. My father suffered much—none loved him. I loved him which he did not realize. My father ought to have driven away the woman from his house and loved me instead. He took away money from the mother's trunk since it originally belonged to the father and he considers himself the true legatee to all that his father possesses.

The anger against the mother originated also from another important source. It is the frustration of his wish for mother's love. The mother was at the moment the *de facto* owner of the money. The money stands as a symbol for mother's love. He says, "Had I been loved by my mother, I would not have stolen her money."

The boy again feels rivalry with his father. He disliked his mother for taking his father's money. "Why should she take from the father? That is a bad taste. I shall bring her a lot more—several thousands of money."

This however figured in the mind of the boy—as deep as we could probe—as the less important motive of his conduct. His mother chiefly was his enemy—she stole the father's love and money.

It should however be never lost sight of that stealing gratifies anger and equally also a libidinal desire. It is stealing of love—love of mother and love of father.

We had observed suspicion that since A fears his father he could not express his anger adequately against him. We challenged him by the stimulus, "You fear your father therefore you say so little against him." He accepted the challenge. He started vilifying his father but quite soon came to express his pity and tenderness for him. i.e. His anger was checked by his love for his father.

A, we already noted, stole once from the pocket of his eldest brother. During stealing he not only experienced anxiety but he was further torn by a severe conflict. He remembers to have put back again a part of his stolen money to avoid detection but probably also to appease his conscience. In his free association he identified his eldest brother with his father. The eldest brother usually lived at another town. A went and lived with him for a year. "The eldest brother is our friend while he comes to our place but he becomes our father when he lives at his own place. He is then so distant and unapproachable." Such a belief on the part of A originates more from A's mind than from objective facts. It is to use a useful psychological term a projection. The attitude A takes to his eldest brother therefore expresses that to his father and would go to confirm what we wrote just before. "I found that it was difficult to steal from the eldest brother. He is so kind, he spends lavishly for us to fulfil our wishes." The eldest

brother used to take his younger brother to cinema and foot ball matches whenever he came to Calcutta. What he would think if he knows that I have stolen even from his pocket? he said with a tinge of evident shame in his face.*

At his own place, eldest brother loved my *loudi* (sister-in-law) and did not love me. "If he did not love, I steal" i.e., I steal love†. This anger could not however find unchecked expression because he felt that he was loved by his brother and by his father though not to his heart's desire. Due to presence of a powerful resistance against stealing from his brother, with difficulty he could remember at all that he stole from him and he disapproved such stealing almost as soon as he began it. He however never forgets that he stole from his mother and he experienced little difficulty in communicating the news to us.

These boys at that time practised homosexuality amongst themselves and had even a few affairs with their younger sister. They cherished heterosexual desire though they viewed the act also with fear.

They felt very guilty because of their sexual practices. They therefore availed themselves of the opportunity to sidetrack a part of the libido to stealing—an act which secretly (secret even to their own consciousness) gratified their sex and aggressive wishes and with which they associated much less guilt. Soon after, A joined political work in which B helped him. The anti-social motives thanks to the peculiar circumstances of a subject nation supplied A the psycho-energy to dedicate himself to a higher social purpose for the moment—i.e., wresting India's freedom from Great Britain.

* Here is an instance where the child's perception of a complex in conflict is not or not so accurately that of man of love. Already as distinct from fear of punishment. Here the ego has no impulse to deny itself with both calm and calm reasoning as what Miss Kiple says: "an internal suppression of one of the parties. The father in such an instance cannot be guilty to a (child's) sense of guilt and unconscious need of self-punishment."

† Cf. cases of symbolic washing mentioned by Cyril Burr in *Young Delinquent* pp. 451 and 452. Here describes Burr reported by his youthful friend who goes straight from his winning an accomplice his first burglary. (p. 451).

The most impelling motive was for him the romance of secret work—the 'forbidden pleasure'. His political work he gratified both the demands of his Id and his super ego.

A careful study of the lives of two boys convinces us that super-ego, the fear of a moral nature played quite a decisive part in determining sequences of their conduct. Stealing is a lesser offence than sexuality * and political work is at least consciously, no offence at all. All of them more or less justified their Id, the evolution however they underwent principally opposed their super-ego. It is true that they are not isolated theories and my generalisations are arbitrary, the character of a third or such data will be questionable. It is better therefore to pass on to the third case.

C is a son of a lawyer. He is the eldest son of the family. He is of twelve years of age and is a student of class IV. He seemed to be of average intelligence and tolerable in studies. He seemed to be reserved though he was not a shy creature. He gave us to believe that though his distrust of his fellow beings was not as much as that of A, it was much more deep-seated. He carefully tried to avoid supplying us any intimate information. Stealing is quite a habit with him. He steals mostly money, again mostly from his father's pocket. His hobby is pigeon. He has quite a good number of them. He tends them with infinite care. For 4 hours enjoys them feats of flying and stunts in the air (he prefers flying pigeons), taking of their food, their love-making and mating. He needs money to buy more of them and to care for those already existing.

It has been communicated to us that the father of the boy was first married to a pagan which was killed as the astrologers believed that best wife of the gentleman would die early.

door shows a lesser delinquency (our statistics)

The boy is loved much by his mother but his father treats him rather nastily. The boy seems to be a perpetual offender to the father. C avoids the father with scrupulous care. He has almost developed an uncanny power to know the nearness of his father. To the latter his overt reaction is only fear.

C stole mostly from his father, especially from his pocket. He used to steal quite recklessly. Thefts were detected many a time, circumstantial evidences proved him as the culprit and he was beaten by his father mercilessly. But the punishment seemed to make upon him no permanent deterrent effect.

To the question, "Why do you steal?" he replied bitterly, "Why should I not when from the very beginning every one took me for a thief?" Whenever a thing is lost, I am suspected and beaten. By his reply C expressed his grievance against his parents. But one would not steal unless one wants to. Stealing gratifies specific libidinal wishes and C at the suggestion of the father finds it advantageous to regard himself as a thief. C submitted to his father's chastisement with a stoical patience. He had however never been found to own a single guilt. It seemed to us that he derived a masochistic pleasure out of his father's beatings. One of his friends supplied us the information that he had some masochistic trait. The friend used to twist the ear of C quite unkindly which gratified the friend's jealousy against C. But C did not seem to mind it at all. When the twisting reached a limit, C simply freed himself.

The first dream C narrated to us was found to be almost an open gratification of his death wish against his father. C never mentioned his father. We could persuade him little to talk about his father. C thought that mother loved the youngest son most. With those words he probably also meant that the mother did not love C as much as she loved his father. Evidently there are some reasons to believe, stood in the eyes of the boy for the good mother who died on account of the father and therefore must have

tated him. With the help of pigeons I was giving back life to his good mother.

D is of 15 years of age. He reads in class VII and seems to be very good natured, while in other respects, he appears as average. His father is a clerk in a Government office. D loves his mother while he is cool to his father. The father is not kind enough to his children and D complains that the father has often beaten him. The subjects he likes most while he was young were milk and sweet chutney. At the age of 13 he stole money. The amounts were five rupees, seven rupees and a few annas stolen from his father's pocket on three different occasions. He reports having stolen occasionally also from his mother. The amounts have however never exceeded one or two rupees.

Why this discrepancy? Could you not steal a greater amount from your mother? I could if I liked, he replied, "but by that I would have made her miserable. I get money from her whenever I want. That is why I do not feel so much to steal from her." D then related the circumstances of his stealing from his father. "I wanted money from him in order to buy a fountain pen, but he refused to comply with my wish. I was angry and stole five rupees from his pocket. The money I however spent on other things. I took money for the second time and this time I bought with it a fountain pen."

D says that he likes no longer to steal. I think it is a quite sincere admission but he feels a strong urge to go away from home. He dreams of dedicating himself to the cause of freedom of his motherland.

The boy took me as a friend of his in quite a short time. In fact I was made a hero by his adolescent mind. One afternoon he said to me a little shyly that he wanted to make a present of a fountain pen to me.

D gave the following spontaneous associations on the fountain pen. He began, "I do not like to take money from the father but I must have a fountain pen." He then went to enquire tenderly about the author and another friend of his. He remembered wistfully the river side and

wished to go home. After that he added: "I bought a fountain pen with the money I stole from the father. Soon I made a present of it to a friend who lost it. I bought another pen which though I valued it much I lost after a short time. Now I have with me the third fountain pen I managed to buy. I feel very anxious about this pen. It constantly occurs to me that I shall be robbed of this pen by some one and I shall not be able to provide me with a fourth pen. No, I shall never part with this pen under any circumstances." Then he remembered a girl friend of his whom he likes but she does not seem to care much for him.

"The fountain pen stands in the eyes of D for the male power and love, i.e. shall we say, power to love? The wish for a fountain pen during his adolescent years remains one of the rite of initiation into manhood of some primitive tribes. It is curious again to note that the boy is haunted by fear of losing his treasure. He fears he will be robbed of his pen by some one. Is it at some one his father?"

The train of thought sometimes expresses itself in reverse order. If we arrange it in proper order, it is as follows. The boy starts with the expression of love, i.e. for a girl. Immediately he feels guilty and fears punishment. So he says that the girl does not care for him and he is afraid that he may lose his treasure. It is not at all difficult to understand that he would next try to take refuge in the security of maternal love, remembering mother by two common symbols—home and river. When the world seems to be a "void," what can be better than returning home? wrote the ancient Chinese poet. Lastly he tried to satisfy himself with men's friendship (the investigator and another friend of his) since it is less suffraged with guilt and he was beginning to find it disappointing. I read his found that the last one with which the patient begins his life-story has proved again and again to be the keynote of the patient's life. Let us now see what D says. He says that he does not like to take father's money, i.e., paternal love (though he steals it—ambivalence) but he wants to be a man himself like his father. D thus displays an aspiration to

self respect which quite agrees with our estimate of his character.

F's stealing has a foundation for it in a revolt of his sexual right which holds to some extent against his father. He is therefore in dread of punishment. We on some occasions found him in quite a noble depression when he talked wistfully about death and even of suicide.*

I found him once in a greatly depressed spirit. I asked him the reason. He could not give any. I enquired about his dream and he gave me the following one he dreamt on the previous night. "I went out in the street. I found a bus trying to run over me. I took a zigzag motion but could not escape the pursuing bus. At last I was run over. Then I found myself awakened."

F reads in class III of a Girls' High school from where he has been recently expelled for his stealing and use of abusive languages and he did not get his promotion last year. The latter fact is nicely explained by his mental age which is only six years and nine months. His chronological age is nine years. Compared with his jolly and lovable sister older than he by two years, he appears shy, sad and lonely. He has some friends though usually kind he never opens his heart to them. Even his most intimate friend does not know from him that he steals. To describe him more aptly he is alone in a crowd. Though shy, he is not timid. He looks a little rude which in his case shows that he is not a love child. His father is a goldsmith and beside mother he has two sisters one of whom is older than he. They may be said to belong to the lower middle class of society.

It is reported that F steals quite frequently. He steals from his home as well as from outside. Sometimes he steals from the homes of his friends which obliges us to take a more serious view of the offender. One of the places

* The sexual aspect of his mental age may be seen in his revolt against his father. He is very fond of his mother and may the sexual part of his depressive complex be being the better reason for it. He is a very sensitive child and is very prone to revenge.¹⁰

from where he is believed to have stolen quite a number of times is the pocket of a friend's grandfather's shirt. On one occasion he was caught while standing with his hand still in the pocket of the shirt. Questioned on the spot he admitted a number of facts corroborated by him previously. Many thieves admit their guilt when they find that conclusive evidences have been gathered against them and an attempt at reform can best begin with the confession of guilt.

We were able to gather from him that he sometimes took money from his mother's bag. This was confirmed spontaneously by his sister. On one occasion he was found with a bundle of five rupee notes. He explained that he got them on a step at the stair case at the pond as a person by mistake had left them there. As he was again questioned he changed his ground and said that he got them in a pot. It is difficult to be steadfast in one's lying. The boy was trying to minimize his offence. The money however did not seem to belong to his parents. It belonged to some one else.

It was experienced that it is difficult to establish a good rapport with the boy. He regards this would be clear from all that he says. Indeed, his cunningness and tries to shield himself from their aggression whenever necessary, by lying. He has never however (as he continuously) did not confide the truth regarding his stealing even to the best of his friends.

E. is not happy in his parental love. They are not kind to him. But E. is able to speak for himself. To the following question he replies as follows:

How much does your mother love you?	"Little"
How much does your father love you?	"Moderately"
Whom does your mother love most?	Eldest sister
Whom does your father love most?	Second (though he loves me a little)
How often does your father punish you?	Frequently
How often does your mother punish you?	"Rarely"
How much do you fear your father?	Nothing
How much do you fear your mother?	"Little"
Do you ever experience anger against your mother?	"Frequently"
Do you ever experience anger against your father?	"Rarely."

In the word-association test, to the stimulus "father" he failed to make any response.

The poverty of the child's love-life is more accurately corroborated by his score in 'Love-Questionnaire'. It is twelve only. We have so far examined 54 children between seven and eleven years* and of all scores this is the lowest, the arithmetic mean of scores being 47.3. The father of E confirmed the poorness of the child's love-wishes by saying that while he *does* not *deny* it *never* from him E never makes any such request. It may be maintained with good reasons that a child wishes little when he actually gets little. E himself said, "I do not request my father because he never gives."

The father of E is besides cruel to E. Let us mention one occasion. When his father came to know that E stole from the *box* of his friend he bound him with a rope and began to hit him most mercilessly. E therefore knows (and therefore fears) his father as one who punishes. The idea he formed about elders is the projection of the idea he could form about his father. He said that he did not love elders. Being asked why? he said, "they are not good." He explained what he meant by 'not good' by adding "they beat me." I tried to know from him whom he loved most. He replied, "youngest sister of mother (age four years). Why do you love her?" "She does not do anything. *She does not beat me.*"

A strange ground indeed for love! How he compares to Count a sweet child of ten years—who said with a smiling face that love means caresses of and presents from elders.

He expresses his most violent feelings rather than he does not fear her much. Towards his father he cherishes suppressed anger, *i.e.*, the desire to aggress, the sign of

*The *mean* scores of the 54 children of the different age groups between seven and eleven years appear as follows: 17 for 7 years of groups above 11 years and especially the scores of adults are however considerably less. In *referring* the mean value we have treated the age groups together.

which is again fear.* The predominant concern in the life of such a child is to defend himself against the aggression of others and secretly avenge himself as much as possible.

E's important seasonal hobby is kites. It absorbs, during the few months of the kite-season, most of his time and attention. During that season he contrives many more thefts to provide him with money to buy kites.

There are two pleasures in the play with kites—the pleasure of flying and the pursuit of food. By flight the child gratifies mainly his aggressive wish. By empathy the flying of kites is felt by the child as his own flying. It gratifies his will to power and if we believe Freud unconsciously power for sexual accomplishment too.

It was no season for kites when we asked him, "What do you like to do with the money you get?" He expressed his desire of retaining by saying, "I want to collect and hoard them." If it is true that the wish to retain grows or at least becomes intensified by the death and—especially in one's getting of love—this becomes intelligible. E and the eldest sister of E, who are now happily overlaid in reply to the same question that they want to spend money to buy toys and eatables.

E demonstrates feelings of guilt. He says that the father does not give him money because E wastes them on silly things. His reactions to word associations also reveal his moral fear.

Stimulus word	Reaction	Reproduction
Stealing	Thief	Great offence
Lying	Sin	Sin
Not arrested	Thief	Thief
Police	Cleaning	Will arrest thieves

He at first mistook **शुल्लिन** for **परिकार कर**. The Police charges, i.e., Punishment expected.

* A child's Moral Development is very poor from age 5 to 7. The anxiety evoked in the child by his destructive impulses takes off his libidinal energy. In the first place it is a hindrance to being repressed. It hinders by doing away impulses. There is an internal instinctual danger, and in the second place it causes his fears on his external objects, against whom his repressive feelings are directed as a source of danger. See further a similar statement from Freud who writes: "In then it is after all only the aggression in children, not guilt, is being repressed and made over to the superego."

To one question, "Why is stealing an offence?" I say, "the Police takes hold of a person who steals." His eldest sister who is praised quite often and who hopes and wishes to be praised quite says, "because it is considered bad by people." A who is a very intelligent boy believes "it is an offence since the money does not belong to the thief and it belongs to another and the latter has not given him the money—that is why it is an offence."

F cherishes quite dreadful pictures of punishment. Being asked about his dreams, the child describes a number of dreams which were of anxiety dreams. He says,

"Last night I dreamt of a decent who came and tried to cut me into pieces. I do not like to sleep there here near the windows. His dreams were full of visions of blood, cannibalism and murder. On another occasion he narrated a real incident that his father killed a thief with a spear. He had a friend in his village home who taught him stealing. One day as they were working together along the road, the Police Inspector arrested his friend while the boy narrowly escaped by climbing on a crooked tree."

There is a plot in the only fact is that his father had a spear. The thief must be he, and he ended the story by mentioning that the father at last killed him for his offence. Thus there seems to be a misanthropy and a positive craving for punishment in him which on analysis will probably turn out as built around the nucleus of his innate passive homosexual wish.

The parents of F tried to teach him lessons of social conformity by repeatedly punishing him. F failed to conform to social rules mostly for that reason. In him parents succeeded in engendering a desire for punishment which is sustained by an ever present feeling of guilt in his own mind associated with his unconscious hostility against his parents. The feeling of guilt is however even more pronounced in the case of F. Let us therefore pass on to describe his case.

F reads in class II at a Corporation School in Calcutta. He is aged nine years. His father is a small shopkeeper.

He lost his mother three years ago. He has two brothers and four sisters. He is the youngest child. He seems to be an intelligent and a vivacious boy.

He is reported to have stolen from the school on many occasions. He steals books, sells them at shops and procures money. He uses the money mainly to buy eatables. On a few occasions money has been used as the entrance fees to cinemas. He utilizes the money more often to entertain his friends. He does not lie when he says:

'I spend two or four annas for myself. I hand over the rest to my friends.' The Headmaster of the school who knew all the children very intimately, confirmed the great love of P for his friends all of whom are more or less problem children. P used to steal also at home. He stole from his father.

The family life of the child is again of an undesirable quality. He says, his father loves him moderately and he is not a good man.*

He once mentioned his dead mother. He said, she loved the sisters most. His father loves them all equally or as the boy truly feels he does not love any of his children. He did not mention his father in his reply to the question,

Name the persons who love you. The father seems to be a rude fellow. He complained that the father had driven away his eldest sister from the house. The only person according to him, who loves him is his eldest sister.

The poverty of the love life of the child is more accurately confirmed by the score he obtains by his replies to our love questionnaire. The mean value of nine and ten years children's wish to be loved, it would be remembered, is roughly 47, whilst his score is only 17. The child's wish to get love depends to an important degree on the love he actually enjoys and it may be therefore said that the boy had unfortunate distribution of his need of love.

* In a recent enquiry undertaken by the author 'good' was found to be used (per cent. of 525 children's responses) to the question "what do you think of your father?" Children who thought otherwise underlined the word 'fair.'

It is the practice of the father to punish the child quite severely. He even does not stop at beating the child when he is in the school. The boy however reports that he is rarely punished by his father and the former thus he says like E, rarely experiences any anger against the latter. He however fears the father much. He evidently deceives himself because of his excessive fear of father.

To the stimulus word 'Father' he reacted by saying 'good' but to the next two words (I'm Eight according to order) he expressed his more real feeling towards him by his reactions 'bad'. To be more precise, the boy displays his ambivalent emotions towards his father. I says, he likes children but not elders. He ascribes the same reason as E for his dislike of elders. "They beat me."

To the question, which things he likes most, he says "I like my friends very much" and then goes on to name them one by one. He says that he hates most who quarrel and does not give him money.

The boy's zealous love of his friends is to some extent natural for his age. It has been however enhanced by the coldness of his home. His blado has been prematurely freed to attach itself to some objects outside family. That explains his excessive fondness for his friends.

F frequently associates guilt with stealing in word association test. To both 'thief' and 'stealing' his reactions are 'bad'. The test composed of 87 words. Stealing is the forty-second word. To the first forty-one words, he reacts by only 6 'good' and 4 'bad'. In his reactions to the latter forty-six words there are 20 'good' and 22 'bad'. It is never an accident that the word 'stealing' imitates the form of 'good' and 'bad' is the subject's reactions. It is natural that stealing would be his important complex centering round which there will be going on an endopsychic conflict if he has a conscience in him.

F demonstrates feeling of guilt. He says that he is 'bad'. He wishes for punishment. To the stimulus

* Being asked why, he replied, "Because I put . . ."

got another idea and that he had associated himself by the word 'good'. He explained, 'I have stolen. It is good if I be arrested'. To the word 'punishment' he displayed the same conflict. I got to see what would be corrected next by saying 'good'.

The punishment he imagines is hanging. He gave us the following free association: 'one is punished for stealing. One would be hanged if he murders. Wain. Carriage. Police. Sergeant. Inspector. Constable. The punishment next reminds him of hanging. The matter would be more explicit if we take P's answer to our question: 'Whether God punishes or not?' He said, 'He punishes. He cuts the heads of some by law. Some men are kept blind and feet bound. Some are used as horses to draw carriages. Only the good are kept sitting near God. Those who are taken to Yarn (the king of death). Those who steal are tried in a hot cauldron and in boiling oil. This picture he has most probably seen in some picture of hell. But at this moment he has made it his own.

A few minutes later an unconscious desire. A word of punishment points to the desire of committing sin and getting the punishment. A normal creature would be naturally free of such a fear.

The boy reacted with guilt to the words of sexual meaning:—

Stimulus Words		Reaction	Interpretation
Sticky		Hot	Sexual desire
King		(No response)	Sexual desire
Woman	(shutting his eyes)	Good	Sexual desire
Girl	(Shyly)	Woman	Woman

The boy quite understands sexual connotation significance of the words. It seems reasonable to suppose that he has reached the understanding of them by his own sexual experience. One of the important characteristics of a gang is that it initiates and encourages varieties of morally reprehensive practices. He is a good looking young

boy and the consensual attraction of such a boy is well-known. To the word "sticks" his reaction 'hot' after an unusually long reaction time—different enough.

We have heard from A, who gave us copious assurances on the subject that sexuality and practices and thefts on contacts are not two unrelated events in one's life. To an important extent they gratify the same urge. Stealing gratifies the deeper sexual wishes.

III

We have completed our description of sex cases. They include stealing by more normal children (A, B, C, D) as well as that by young delinquents (E and F). Stealing by normal children does not rise to the level of a young child who does not believe in an owner other than himself. These are truly no stealing at all. Most children, however, we have some reasons to believe steal once or twice in their lives when they are quite able to distinguish between their property and others. It would be difficult to secure confirmation of the fact by directly questioning children. They would tend to hide. Educated adults belonging to different professions however readily confirmed our notion by their own experiences of childhood. They could so easily do so because they feel that it is not they, but their childhood who are owners of such experiences.

Stealing by normal children is characterised by the other crucial fact that such children steal only at home. We are told by a child that if he steals from home it is no stealing, he is not taking another's property, it is *his* parents'.

A expressed quite simply, the money (which stands primarily for the love of the father) he steals really belongs to him. He is prevented access to his own property. Therefore he resorts to stealing to recover it.

K, the youngest of these children is a widow. He steals frequently from his mother. His brother and from his sister. He believes that he is deprived of the right to share in

mother's love and presents. We may unite the two facts to mean that K has taken recourse to stealing to recover his claim. Stealing thus involves two contrary attitudes on the part of the thief. According to him the object he steals both does (more unconsciously) and does not (more consciously) belong to him. May we say that one can never steal (though one can destroy) unless he believes, at least secretly, that the object he is going to steal ought to have belonged to him, i.e., it morally belongs to him?

Stealing by normal children may be described as abnormality of the normal. It bridges the gulf between the normal and the abnormal and emphasises the qualitative likeness of the two. It also points to the similarity of the underlying psychic motives in the two groups though the motives are of different proportions. Besides social distinction an interesting psychological distinction may also be drawn in stealing: normal stealing and pathological stealing. Kleptomania is an instance of pathological stealing. It is a form of obsessional neurosis marked by an inner compulsion to steal.

It is unfortunate that we have not been able to mention in the paper any case which may be usually termed as pathological. It should not however be concluded that our cases do not reveal interesting psychopathological materials. Let us make our point clear. We do not regard a thief as normal who steals only or mostly for the symbolic value of an object. If this criterion is accepted we find pathological traits in most of our cases. A fountain pen is an useful thing but it should not be allowed to mask the fact that it possesses in the eyes of D much greater value than what it has to the majority of people. Consider again C's devotion to pigeons mostly for whose sake he stole money. Are they mere flying birds to him? They stand in his eyes partly as symbols for the good mother, the mother who loves him and not his father.

Stealing for courting punishment is also a strange phenomenon. In a future paper of ours we propose to discuss a case whose principal object in life is to meet

punishment. There was some evidence to suggest that C and E enjoyed Father's beatings. F's vivid and eloquent descriptions of the beat and punishment gave again one reason to suspect that he to some extent desires punishment.

The study of six cases of stealing has made clear to us that the psychology of stealing is a very complicated one. Stealing does not result merely from a greed of a strong, older, unrestrained by any super-ego because of the poor development of the latter. Let us however offer our findings in a more systematic way.

There is in stealing a very natural desire to seize an object and to make it one's own. This perhaps led Kussel to remark that he considers a naughty child as condemned if the latter does not steal. The younger a child is the more clearly he displays the natural wish. The object however possesses meanings more than one to the mind of the young child and it thus gratifies the child multiple wishes, conscious and unconscious.

It will be wrong if we do not pay due regard to the unconscious determinant of stealing. The unconscious wish makes use of the symbolic significance of the object. The fountain pen for example, stands in the mind of D for motherhood, the male love and power. Nor should we overlook the underlying similarity between the hobby of C and E—kites and pigeons. Both gratified their wishes to fly, which according to psychoanalysis has a fairly definite symbolic meaning. If we remember the law of compensation of unconscious it will be easy for us to reconcile that C regards a pigeon as symbol for good mother and he also identifies himself with the former.

Stealing is not gratification of a simple natural desire. It gratifies one's wish to sin. It is testing the forbidden pleasure. A girl, An not secretly doing this now with anxiety and joy. The mother of H, a girl of ten years, said H would refuse to take food when offered but she would afterwards steal and eat the same. The father of I, a boy of eleven, bitterly complained, "I cannot account why J

steals, I offer him money. He often refuses it and then steals from my pocket. It seems that a thing stolen tastes differently from the same object received as a gift. The act of stealing the secret procurement indeed makes the difference. This is what it throws light to some degree. I and H may be only two exaggerated instances. The *charm of secrecy* should never be lost sight of and the root of the charm of secrecy may be found in sexuality.

Besides these wishes the stealing provides the aggression of the child against his parents. Every child has some grievance against his parents more or less. The degrees of resentment are explained to some extent by the amount of privation and punishment met by children. Hatred of one's parents suppresses energy to and thus sustains all anti-social behaviour and in inextinguishable that I has an undying hatred of great intensity against his father. The wish for revenge our study inclines us to believe, is the most important motive to stealing. K expressed the matter in the following words. To the question, "what would you do to your father if he beats you severely?" he replied, "I shall harm him. I shall spoil his things or I shall take three or four rupees from his pocket. I shall thus take revenge."

We shall explain why we regard the motive of revenge as the most important one. All children want to gratify their needs needs of objects and love but the majority of them steal rarely, if at all. A few children steal quite often and as soon as we try to know their emotional attitude we learn that they cherish deep resentment against their parents. A and D demonstrated further that it is difficult to steal from the parent whom one loves. One can steal more easily from the parent whom one hates.

Stealing again is an expression of fear. Thieves are timid creatures. As children fear parents they cannot express their anger against them openly. Such suppressed hatred finds expression in stealing. It is not an accident that C, E and F—all the three habitual thieves in our paper—say that they have never experienced any feeling

of anger against their father, call of them steadily from their father. A hated father rather relatively openly and he did not steal from her on more than a few occasions. When one's hatred is relatively conscious, it is not pathologically so effective.

The prohibition against stealing on the other hand comes from the society, which a child soon makes a part of his own moral consciousness or super-ego. According to most authorities super-ego develops as the child identifies himself mentally with his parents and incorporates in his life parental recommendations and prohibitions. Susan Isaacs² appears to have emphasised an useful distinction in the super-ego, the controlling super-ego and the severe sadistic super-ego. Persons, whose super-ego is mainly of controlling nature generally refrain from acts of anti-social nature. The sadistic super-ego aims not so much at controlling as at punishing its owner.

The study of minds of these young thieves go some way to refute the popular notion that delinquents and young offenders have no conscience. What impressed us again and again is the excess of conscience in them. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that their conscience shows a defective development. We are thus able to agree with Melanie Klein that "it is the excessive severity and overpowering cruelty of the super-ego, not the weakness or want of it, as is usually supposed, which is responsible for the behaviour of asocial and criminal persons."

It is reasonable to believe that parents play an important part in determining the character of the super-ego in a child. The child tends to assume towards himself a moral attitude similar to what parents take towards him. A child who is punished often for wrong doing will come to court in his future life punishment by doing wrong, i.e., he will develop largely a super-ego of a sadistic type.

The need of self-punishment arises out of a sense of guilt. None of the six boys seemed to hold any good opinion about themselves. Four of them A, C, E and F said they were bad. C accepted the role of a thief partly

as a result of the suggestion from F's¹ parents, especially from that of the father. A said that he has got used to beatings from his mother. Today interviews. If by chance she defers her beating at the expected time, it makes him very anxious and unhappy. As soon as he however meets his punishment he feels greatly relieved and even happy. He dares to hope that *it will be free to be* for sometime whatever he likes, *i.e.* he will be able to gratify his desires belonging to Id.

Punishment thus serves a useful psycho function in many disturbed persons. Punishment is expiation; it lessens, if for the time being, the weight of the guilt feeling. Expiating guilt they manage to prevent the mental equilibrium from going to pieces. The offenders however soon learn, as A said, to derive a secondary gain from punishment. It becomes for them, to use the words of Bernard Gluck, a *license to commit further crime.*"

Wherefrom however does come the impulse to commit further crime?

We think that at present the following hypothesis would suffice. We shall take the case of A. As A's feeling of guilt is reduced, his mother-hate gets the uppermost of his mind and he gives relatively free play to his Id. It is, in other words, a story of aggression turned alternately against the outer world and against oneself.

Stekel found, we had an occasion to mention, that self-hatred marks all neurotic characters. It is instructive to find that delinquents also suffer from self-hatred. In a work² with 147 children of a few schools in Czecho-slovakia we found that a child who hates his parents (or at least one of the parents), also hates himself. There is reason to argue that the self-hatred, *i.e.* the feeling of guilt in such cases results from the hatred of parents.

¹ See Appendix: Descripta. Parent-Child Relationship and Child's Self-Regarding Sentiment. *Indian Journal of Psychology*, April, 1948.

It is thus necessary to revise our statement that parents determine the character of children *supra*. In these cases at least the feeling of guilt is directly related to anger children themselves feel against their parents.

It is instructive to observe that except D all the boys staid and enjoyed in groups. There is no other way to counteract the painful feeling of loneliness engendered by the feeling of guilt associated with one's anti-social behaviour. The group life of children organises principally in the children's need to play and when organised it becomes in their mind to some extent an organisation against elders. A child who lives in a happy loving home offers his love to his parents and to his friends. A child who regards his parents as unloving tends to offer his whole heart to his playmates. In the case of E it is clear. He loved his sister but now he loves only his friends. To our question, 'why do you steal?' he replied, 'because my friends want me to do so.' He is not lying. One is suggestive to the person whom he loves.

The evil influence of gang life has been spoken of too often. Though it cannot be denied that a gang exerts a very unwholesome influence upon its members, the root cause of its influence should be looked for elsewhere. It is not true that a gang can attract all children. It even repels many. A gang is the home for children who are already anti-social in their mind. We should perhaps make one exception in our statement, *viz.* deficient children who commit crime without understanding them to be crimes. But such crime form only a small minority. The solitariness and cohesiveness of a children's gang derive its strength and energy from children's love and loyalty and their intensive devotion to the gang is partly explained by their inability to love their parents.

IV

In our study we have found that in stealing with to progress is the most important factor. The child's motive of

revenge however cannot be wholly taken at its face-value. Even if we grant that anger is born out of frustration it cannot be maintained that anger bears an invariable proportion to frustration. Children differ in their innate aggressive disposition and to the same psychic situation two children will react with different degrees of resentment. Secondly, some amount of frustration is inevitable in the life of all human beings. A child wants the exclusive attention of his parents and he cannot possibly have it. Nor as our society is, can a child have his mother as his wife.² The jealousy children experience as a result of these frustrations is not evidently a reaction to parental aggression. The child needs love but father and mother are some distance and the father has the definite mission to win the child over to his side by repeated acts of kindness. We should therefore be on our guard not to be deceived. The knowledge of mechanism of projection supplies us the information that a child often projects his hatred into his father and believes as if the father hated the former.

But we also know from our experience that parents differ in their psychic constitution. They not infrequently complement the same by their hostility towards the child. Some of them feel in their duty to win their child over by bestowing love on him.

It is inevitable that children must make some remuneration in the gratification of their wishes. In more fortunate instances children find a desirable return for remuneration in love and praise from parents. When children are asked to renounce on threat of punishment merely, the situation becomes entirely unfavourable for a happy solution.*

* Ego has to renounce a desire for remuneration. It may even do it. At the same time he transfers his feeling of anger towards what a child perceives clearly to find in the feeling of pleasure accompanying the transference. Love is not in vain. The father becomes a partner with the child and the child is not alone. The child's experience when the parent's love has to be renounced is the opposite of the child's experience when the parent's love is given. The child's representation of the parent's love is not the same as the child's representation of the parent's love when the parent's love is given. The child's representation of the parent's love is not the same as the child's representation of the parent's love when the parent's love is given.

Firstly then the child is made to make common cause with his parents. Parent by parent cooperation becomes as he has already suspected, his enemies. The presumed conduct thus remains wholly alien to him—the first serious failure of such moral education. Secondly the child is faced with an overwhelming situation. The weak ego of the child is asked to endure a twofold psychic frustration—frustration of his libidinal as well as his aggressive wishes. The latter originating in this instance in the child's reaction to the parents' anger.

In the cases of three habitual thieves which chiefly attracted our attention was that their fathers, according to the sons' opinion, loved their sons very little. This psychological fact which initiated a train of vicious conduct in the child is the resultant of feeling of hostility on both sides which is mostly unconscious. Our therapeutic task lay at first in drawing the attention of the father to the child's need of being loved and as the next important measure we shall have to make the child conscious of his hatred against his parents. If he can own it before himself and before the psychotherapist, the anger will lose its unconscious character and therefore much of its power to determine conduct. We found possible to undertake these two tasks in only one case, that of F.

Before we pass on to describe our experiences with F we shall once more mention the case of E. In this case we did not get any cooperation from his father and we had to rely solely on the teachers and upon a few interviews by us—not more than fifteen in all—for my cure to be effected. The Headmaster of the school is a gentleman of kind disposition and children receive much loving attention from him. The child was nominated as a monitor of the school and was thus given opportunity to cure himself by self-assertion of somewhat sadistic nature. It is a notorious

that substitute might be, there would undoubtedly have been a transfer of the libido into neurasthenia." We cannot explain this phenomenon in terms of the compensation for the pain of renunciation in the case of the child. The renunciation may be really voluntary on the part

fact that a child in power is very cruel to other children and I provided no exception. He had to be frequently prevented from cruel exercise of power and again and again had to be instructed to report me not to punish. The good thing is that he cleverly detected thefts committed in his class and he himself stopped stealing. Another very desirable change happened in the home life of the child. His eldest sister, who according to him is the only person that loves him, returned from her uncle's place and began to stay with the child. This greatly gratified the child and his wish for love score rose from 17 to 32 in the second test we recently undertook after an interval of 7 months. His wish for love mostly centered around his sister and her kindness to the child. This served two purposes. It alerted the boy from the gang; he never mentioned his friends in the second test. Secondly, it enabled him to find an acceptable motive not to beat since his sister does not want him to do so.

He disapproved wishes to be like his father. When he will be a father, he says, he will act as his father acts. The monitor is a powerful person. He is like others and teachers and why not like the father. By being a monitor he has unconsciously become a father. The identification of F is of an ambivalent nature. It gratifies aggression against his father along with love for him. It therefore evokes in him the fear of retaliation from the side of his father. He says, "It is not good to be a monitor." He rationalises his fear by saying, "If you are a monitor, you must find out all misdeeds in your class. If you fail to detect the Headmaster will beat you—mostly an unfounded assertion as far as I have been able to gather. The rationalisation betrays the real fear—the Headmaster, or the father will beat him."

Yet he has become to some extent father-like. The look of a child's unconscious hostility against his father, we have seen, originates from the complex that the child is a "child" and the father is a father.* The act of being father-like (we shall remember two more facts—the mother is

dead and the sister loves the boy more than she loves the father immediately served two purposes. It gratified his ego since against his father and the possibility of his becoming like the father, his anger against father was held less much of its point.

The power and love he craves seem to have helped him to introject his father image into him. He reported as often that he did not steal because his father does not want him to do so etc., therefore not so shameless as they first seem. To say our father "what would you do to your child when you become a father?", he said, "I shall beat him." Thus he has started doing in all earnest. He has identified himself with his father and he has projected his naughty child self into others whom as father he therefore punishes.

The interviews he had with me helped him to give vent to his feeling more freely without any fear of punishment. In his last interview he expressed his antipathy against his father more openly. He did not find the worst of the three keys not given in the profile sufficient to describe his father. He said that the father was "bad". We can only add that it may not be good to hate one's parents,[†] but if he really hates him—the conscious hatred often does the child less mischief than the unconscious one.

* This may be done as a clinical trackness. Since at the 10th interview he reported that their father was "at 70 or 80 years old" and that their father was "nothing" (op. cit.).

† In the case of the child, the presence of hatred existing between the son and the father.

As to the children's hatred against their parents it must be owned that it is natural. At a young period in the life of the child (C. H., 27) and it seems to be the necessary of the child's mind. (H. H., 100) The child's mind must not be therefore excessively suppressed but the child must enjoy the freedom to express them at least in words. In other words, we must reveal its attitude towards the parents of the child in a way that the parents.

In our task of re-education we were not however obliged to take any side. We could limit our work to persuading and permitting the child to talk out his mind to us as far as his father and mother were concerned.

We cannot but however feel that the reform the child has undergone is only a superficial one. It has achieved some practical good and it is also true that in many cases we cannot have any further readjustment of environmental factors. Yet one cannot but regret that only the direction of complex propensity has been changed but the complex has not been deprived of its sting. The boy himself feels to be not happy. He has not changed to openness, he holds about himself—he is bad and he is without any virtue. The readers will remember that I projected his badness into his shirt. That it has become to him a physical symbol for his viciousness was made even more clear to us by his very unkind reaction—a mixture of sorrow and fear—to the teacher's comment on his dirtiness of clothes. His parent and sister cannot be held wholly responsible for his dirty clothes. His sister who reads in a nearby school comes to school neatly dressed. He himself keeps putting on a dirty shirt—the visible emblem of his guilt and self-punishment.

Yet he has become evidently good. Let us hope he will not be bad in this or in some other way. We feel he is glad if he does not choose an anti-self solution of his conduct problem in place of the anti-social one.*

VII

The case of E. was referred to me by his father at some stage of my investigation into the case. The boy was causing the father great worry. The father had been served with a notice from the school where the boy was reading that the latter would no longer be permitted to continue to prosecute his studies there. As the father was himself seeking assistance from me, I could therefore hope for some cooperation from him in the treatment of the case. The parental cooperation is badly needed in giving effect to measures to reform the child, where either a change

* We learn not now that our fear has been a mere scare tactic and the boy is no longer a victim of his complex. We expect one to be happy.

of home environment of a child, the co-operation of the parents is not possible. It may be even said that such co-operation when forthcoming, often makes substantial contribution towards favourable outcome of the psychological treatment of a case.

We tried to pursue the work of reform of the child from three directions. They were revision of parental attitude to the child, arrangement of wholesome occupations and studies that are not beyond his power and only a few clinical sittings with the psychologist. All of them directly or indirectly aimed at removing the underlying cause of his anti-social conduct.

Firstly, in a friendly conversation with his father we pointed out the need of revision of the parental attitude to the child and their method of training him.

We explained that the boy believed himself to be an unloved child and the punishment, according to our opinion, instead of deterring, was actually encouraging commission of the crime. It was very necessary for the welfare of the child to let him feel that parents loved him as they loved his sisters. We here suggested that the father would do well to start giving the child a small pocket money at regular intervals. It would at once convince him of the father's love for him as well as remove a pressing need for stealing by the child.

Corporal punishment should, as far as possible, be discontinued. The need however remains of keeping strict watch on him and keeping him wholesomely occupied. We cannot however expect from him scholastic progress natural to an average boy of eight. If we are modest in our expectation, the boy would find his lessons less distasteful and his teachers more acceptable beings. We could not however do much in the direction of organising some wholesome occupation for his leisure hours. I tried to persuade the father to take some interest in his harmless leisure time activities like flying of kites.

Along with these parental efforts in the social and scholastic sphere, I met him often and encouraged him to

talk not his mind to me. The rapport slowly established itself and he found in me a good confidant. The stages of his self-revelation is illuminating. He started with the description of an anxiety dream—a carnivorous ghost being its theme. He associated the ghost with his teachers. Being asked why the ghost intends to kill him, he said, 'because I committed a sin'. The sin was that I have broken a tree.

A little later he added that he deliberately broke his father's hand fan. But in reply to my question he denied that he hated his father at all.

Being asked to give association to standing, he gave the following: Hat, Nose, Fan, Eyes, Hand, Leg, Finger, Tree, Flower, Flower plant.

Being asked he gave association to father, he gave the following words: Mother, Sisters and Fox. When I insisted on him to continue he said that nothing more was occurring to him. Finally he was persuaded to give the following association:

Shoes, shoes of the father, Leg, Father's Fan which I have broken.

Here I suggested that I had no doubt he hated his father. He broke the tree, the father's fan which all stand for father or father's genital (sexual power of father). Why would he commit such aggressive acts if he has no anger against his father? Without looking at me he confessed the truth and added that he sometimes wished that his father might go away to the native village. He would be happy to live here with his sisters and mother if his father were absent.

After a few days he himself identified the rubber with his father and also disclosed a very real cause of his guilt and anxiety, viz., his masturbation which he was practising for sometime. He said that he wanted to cut off the hand. The statement is over-determined—it was at once wishing to castrate the father as well as himself. He was also not much late to admit that he wanted to marry his mother.

He displayed the same thinking process of homosexual wish to father and sexual desire which leads him to commit the father's corporal punishment. He displayed the wish by the following statement: "I had an aunt who used to steal. She was caught to beat her, kick her but she never gave up stealing." We were finally able to find confirmation for his passive homosexual wish from his admission of a real passive homosexual experience to which he was no unwilling partner.

He also displayed, as has been already said, positive oedipus wishes for the possession of mother as well as absence of his father.

It will be seen that his stealing stands in a symbolic relation, in the psychoanalytic sense, to his sexual and aggressive phantasies and experiences. Stealing reminded him of parts of body with a movement from above-downward, passing finally to trees which he broke. Stealing, breaking of tree and breaking of father's fan are unconsciously associated. Stealing is also associated to hand and he wanted to cut off his hand because it masturbates. Lastly stolen money helps him to buy lilies as well as it reminds him of flower plants.

The first part of our work lay again and again in bringing into the notice of the boy the psychic relationship his stealing bore to his sexual and aggressive wishes. As the boy was confidently relating his innermost secrets of his life to us without meeting punishment or even reproof it was leading to the lessening of his guilt and anxiety to a very effective degree. There was no reason to regard himself as a morally depraved creature and to believe that immoral acts are only appropriate for him. He was gradually gaining a sense of self-respect and also a social-feeling.

What in our opinion, helped him most is the lessening of the severity of his super-ego expressed in his ever present feeling of guilt. What was therefore most pathogenic in him was his anxiety associated to his sexual and aggressive wishes. I remember an experience which led to a dramatic relief of his anxiety. Interpreting the psychic materials he

produced I remarked, "You wish to marry your mother." He looked at me very anxiously, at which I added, "all children want to marry their mothers." With a dramatic suddenness his anxiety seemed to disappear and I heard afterwards from one of his friends that he communicated that important piece of revelation to his friend that very evening in a matter of fact manner.

We allowed the child to talk but at the same time following the practice of Anna Freud¹ used the restraining influence of our firm terms to dissuade him from talking and sexual practices. We did not however press one point with him too far just because it would then have defeated the aim we were attempting with him to attain.

Our three months' work of re-education with him has resulted in distinct improvement in his behaviour. For the last six months he has not been known to steal. His love score has risen to 11. What is most gratifying to us is that he has lost much of his guilty look. His relation with elders is now definitely better. He makes requests to them and even at times dares to disagree with them.

With him, as with most other children in child guidance work, an important part of re-education is in most cases borne by parents and teachers. When we are able to combine clinical treatment (in some cases such treatment is essentially with re-education by environmental readjustment) we can rightly hope for a rapid re-educative work to be effected in the mind and the behaviour of the child.

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CHAPTER VI

TRUANT CHILDREN

I

Truancy from school is a problem of discipline of considerable importance. Like physical violence or stealing it may not be aggressive in nature, but it is sufficiently antisocial in so far as it entails quite seriously the breach of at least one important school rule.

The essence of truancy of a pupil consists in absenting himself from school on no good ground. Such absence most often does not wait upon the approval of teachers or guardians either before or after its occurrence. A child may absent himself without coming to school at all or by coming to school but by going away too soon. Truancy sometimes means wandering. Many truant children pass in streets the hours during which they ought to have been working in schools. Any sensible parent will not allow his child to stay at home during school hours. Children who want to stay away from school which is one of the important reasons of truancy, can only do so by choosing to roam about through streets. For some children streets are a sort of unimpeding attractiveness for reasons more than one.

It is not difficult therefore to understand why truancy so often also means wandering. But it should not always be taken to mean so, both in faithfulness to the meaning of the English word truancy and to the fact that all guardians are not equally sensible in regard to the welfare of their children. There is indeed a variety of truancy where children for no good reason at all frequently keep at home without going to school. Both the varieties of truancy lead almost always to one similar serious consequence, *i.e.*, scholastic backwardness. They are however outcome of a dif-

ferent set of psychological causes and result as well in many instances when they together disappear. We shall have opportunities to consider in our case studies motives and consequences of truancy of both the forms as expressed in the following table:

Truants from School

<p style="text-align: center;"> </p> <p style="text-align: center;"> </p> <p>Spend school hours away from home usually in street</p>	<p style="text-align: center;"> </p> <p>Spend school hours at home</p>
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II

As one observes and reflects it becomes clear that in children's truancy from school the following causes in some proportion become always operative. They are either children's fear of and aversion to school or greater attraction of some object, person or place outside school for children or perhaps both. Let us first discuss attraction of something else which results in children's absence from school. In this connection one first remembers home. Children pass their early years of life at home often steadily enjoying the invariable warmth of parental affection. No wonder that these early pleasurable experiences would lead to engender a habit of home fixation if we may call it so children which will always conflict with any effort at a new adjustment on the part of children. The operation of law of inertia in the psychical sphere is an obstacle on the path of any new adventure. The rather irregular attendance of many school entrants for several months from the date of their admission can be traced to the play of the same law.

Here is an example. Dhanu returns to school after the absence of a fortnight as he was ill. He finds however difficult to steady himself in his attendance and it took him about a fortnight during which period he was very irregular in his attendance to become again a regular student. This

happens again and again in the life of Dasu showing the influences of habit in the life of a child.

The existing mode of life gradually ceases to please the child less and less and even becomes to some extent painful for him owing to the growth of new urges in him, changed attitude of parents and last but not the least the frustration that inevitably accompanies the gratification of his wish for love. The social play—as distinct from a game that the child plays alone—becomes one of increasing importance in his life as he grows and the child begins to seek and value his play fellows. The child wants to direct his aggression and bind on to new objects, the reason of which partly also lies in the growth of excessive guilt feeling and unbearable contradiction in his reactions towards his parents. Lastly the child is drawn to school because it provides him with opportunities for the gratification of thirst after knowledge and will to self-expression and self-assertion. It can therefore be maintained that the child's liking for school is an outcome of the victory of the will to achieve² over the wish for love dependence. In the lives of a few children love dependence has been made the strongest urge by indulgence. They are again most injudiciously encouraged to gratify their wish for superiority in the love indulgence. In other words they are allowed to remain greatly with their belief in the infantile omnipotence by being allowed to tyrannise over their parents. It is not difficult to understand that children with such an attitude will like home more than they like school. No school can satisfy a child who always seeks love. Again and again such a child will feel the need to return home and to his parents. Here is a case of such a boy whom we met in a Calcutta Corporation School.

Akhal reads in the infant class. He is of six years of age. He possesses a good physique. He is the only child of his parents. The father is a tax-driver who earns a fairly good amount of money.

² It may be incidentally pointed out that the most important motive which play satisfies is the child's feeling of mastery and self-assertion.

The boy was reported for playing truant. His scholastic progress during nine months from the date of his admission was very poor. He does not like his school nor his studies. He has adopted, besides truancy a number of ways to avoid studies. He repeatedly breaks his slate and tears off leaves from his book. Recently he has confided to one of his school fellows his resolution that he would burn down the school.

The boy appeared slightly less than his age in intelligence. It was 5 years 6 months. We shall place him in a low grade—average—his I. Q. being approximately 92.

The boy is a great pet of his father. The father gratifies the wishes of the boy to quite an moderate degree. The father's excessive fondness expresses itself in his frequent buying of things, especially sweets, for the child as well as giving the latter an unusual quantity of money.

The father usually returns home at midday to take his meal and to rest for sometime. It is difficult for the boy then to stay at school and he therefore makes his way, sometimes very ingeniously, to his home. The child's early return to home is not met with any reproof from the father and if we believe the report of the maternal uncle of the child, the son's presence gladdens the dad.

The mother does not wholly like the child's truancy but she is helpless against the father and her own love of the child.

The boy appreciates the love of the father and confidently regards himself as the latter's favourite. He does not, however, think that the mother loves him and he says that he has only one friend. He shows evident signs of impoverishment in his love displacement and has come to believe that he is loved only by his father and by none else.

It is evident that the root of the boy's preference for home to school lies in his excessive preference for father to others. His love for father has moreover affected his character in a deeper manner. He has developed into a child of indolent disposition encouraged by his too great a love dependence. That explains why he detests studies.

To say attempt to draw him to a life of achievement he reacts with anger and aggression. He has found dependence on father's love is all too pleasurable.

It is instructive to consider in some detail the other aspects of the child's psyche. The child's exclusive fondness for father is provoked by his hatred and rivalry against mother. She loves him little. She is not good. As such he hates her. It is only another way of saying that the child does not love the mother and he hates her. His cannot help giving rise to a feeling of guilt in the child's mind and he consequently says that he is not good and that he is bad to look at, which again or not true. It is not however possible to believe that towards the father there is an unconscious only motion of a tender type. Besides the father is known to be a person of very unstable temperament. He sometimes comes home immoderately drunk. Nor can the child be wholly thankful to a father who has stifled the boy's growing inner urges to make contact with the world outside depriving the child greatly of opportunities to actively exert his power and to prove his worth by keeping him attached too much to the father and to an earlier mode of gratification. The child escapes the pain of intolerable ambivalence if he is associated with a very powerful love in relation to his father by projecting his hostility on to his paternal uncle who resembles the father. To the question—*whom does he hate most?*—the child says, "paternal uncle."

We have not been able to determine whether the child's unconscious hostility against his father plays any part in the causes of his truancy. Possibly it does. But it may be put down that by far the most important reason why the child has been hard to handle is that the boy excessively loves his father and wants to possess him exclusively especially to the exclusion of his mother.

There is the case of another truant boy who though a mother's pet, a fact which contributes to an important measure towards the aetiology of his truancy, demonstrates a more complicated psychic dynamics than those of

Akt 1. Let us call the boy Hridaya. He comes a fairly well-to-do family. He is the youngest child of a widow. His father, however, died when he was only eight months of age in extremely tragic circumstances. The father was killed by a robber in his village home.

Hridaya reads in Class V of the High School and is aged eleven years. He is an intelligent boy, his mental age being one year ahead of his chronological age. The intelligence was not reflected in his scholastic success for he got fairly pass marks in his last class examination. He appears to be in good health but it is not difficult to understand that he suffers from great anxiety.

He is very irregular in his attendance at school. He also does not really pay attention on days when he comes to school by going back too early. He seems to love to stay at home. His home-mindedness is even more clearly reflected by his frequent preference of home to playground during afternoon. His leisure-time pursuits have been too greatly narrowed down. He loves little to play and when he plays at all, he plays only one game (*teddi chut*). Thus he shows signs of what is commonly known as inhibition.

The restriction of his joy of life seems to have been effected also by his fear of life outside. He feels that he is persecuted by the street fellows. He says, "I am beaten by them wherever I go to streets. That is why I do not like to go to streets."

Hridaya did not appear quite steadfast in his love objects. In his reply to the question— "whom do you love most?"—he oscillated again and again between the members of the other sex and the members of the same sex. He twice said that he loved his mother most, on two other occasions he wholly omitted the mother and said it was his brothers whom he loved. The mark he scored in the love questionnaire was again not satisfactory, his wish for love was only 19.

* A number of questions was asked from many directions to elicit the truth.

His ambivalent relation to his mother was more clearly expressed in his other replies. To the question "what do you do for your mother?" he said, "I go and buy things from the shop when mother asks me to do so." This reply however did not wholly satisfy him and he added in the same breath, "though sometimes I disobey her." I tried to know from him why he loved his mother. He said "I love her because if she dies there will be no one else to love me." He assigned a similar reason for loving his elder sister (a mother figure). He loved her because after her marriage she would go away to another house. To the question, "what do you want to do for your mother?" he said "I want to do something so that she may go on living."

We shall here add that such replies are very unusual as far as our experience goes. Most children say they love their mothers because mothers love them, do things for them or mothers are good.

Hridya is thus much worried lest he loses his mother and his elder sister. Such an anxiety we know, always indicates an unconscious desire to lose them. It is worthwhile to try to understand the why and wherefore of such a desire. But before we attempt to do that, let us consider a number of other important facts.

It has been already mentioned that Hridya's love for his brother was not also very consistent. He disliked his eldest brother because the latter occasionally scolded and beat him. But he again believed that his brother was good as a father alone could afford him the security he needed.

The fear and aversion he showed towards his brothers were expressed in much more marked degrees in displaced forms in his attitude to his school-fellows. The school-fellows are the most hated persons in his mind. He spoke also of the aggressiveness of teachers against him.

We shall close the description of the boy after we have mentioned two more significant psychic facts. The boy is both of an aggressive and anxious type. He suffers from occasional outbursts of temper. In his fits of anger he wants to destroy or throw away whatever he can. Thus he

does it was made to some extent clear to us, in spite of himself. To the stimulus word "anger" he reacted by the word "bad" after a very long reaction time. We have already mentioned about his anxiety. From his responses in the Word Association Test we come to know that he is greatly afraid of ghosts. He does not want to remain alone. He fears that a ghost will come and kill him.

We have found something here which can well serve as a starting point in our attempt at explanation of the case of Hrudaya. Ghosts, we know, stand in the child's mind for potent urges. In the case of Hrudaya, we are even left in less doubt as to the identity of the ghost he recalls from - it is no other than his deceased father. Freud¹ has convincingly argued that one fears a ghost because one unconsciously believes that the death of the person who is at present living, a disembodied existence has been brought about by one's aggressive wishes. The father of Hrudaya died with an unnatural death. Hrudaya cannot but therefore feel that he, by his hostile wish, played a very important part in bringing about the death of his father. There are also quite good reasons to suppose, as we know our social superstition, that he has perhaps been occasionally accused by people of his father's death, which cannot but strongly reinforce the sense of guilt in him which he expresses by saying that he is 'bad'. It is quite natural therefore that he will be in constant dread of a retaliation from the side of his father who is at this moment a ghost. That is why he fears that the ghost will kill him.

Now a child's hostile wish against his father originates in his wish to possess his mother exclusively. But in the case of Hrudaya, his hostile wish has too well succeeded, making him feel excessively guilty. To get rid of the painful feeling of guilt he has made use of the mechanism of projection and tried to believe that it is not he but his mother who is responsible for his father's death and it is not he but his mother who will die as a consequence.² Such a displace-

¹ Such a projection is probably attempted with the greater vigour when the child fears that the mother herself will be a victim of his father's death.

mother. He fears that he would be abandoned by his mother by way of compensation. He has a concern over his mother's death as he sees a way out, all ways are over-determined. It is the meeting point of his aggressions directed against his mother and against himself. Not without reason, however, he tries to remain always near his mother. The child and he believes that he can only be protected against such a painful situation by his father and his boy. A child cannot but feel the loss of the father is a great one. The child loses his father, who might be the child's ideal. That is why Hirdaya sincerely wants his father to be back alive. It will prove to the boy that he had not killed his father. As a last resort he was left to depend upon his brother (elder) to provide Hirdaya with adequate provision and mental security. It has been found by Tannock⁴ that it is not unusual for such children to adopt a homosexual attitude in their lives. In the case of Hirdaya we at least find that the presence of an excessive guilt feeling associated to his wish for mother's love stands in his way to maintain a healthiest affectionate attitude towards his mother. It is quite likely, therefore, that his persecutory fear of his school fellows, to some extent reinforced as a defensive measure against his passive homosexual inclination.

The truancy of Hirdaya, let us summarise, arises from his anxiety and love for his mother as well as from his fear and hatred of his school-fellows which are in the last analysis his fear and hatred of his father.

Truancy may again result from fear of and aversion to school of a more absolute nature. An excessive attachment to home results in a relative dislike of school which may grow into an aversion of the attendance at school as too much insisted upon the unwilling child. Such an aversion is secondary in nature and should be carefully distinguished from a primary hatred of the institution of truancy. The primary hatred of a necessity to reside in many cases is in its turn reinforced by the growth of a secondary attachment to a girl friend and play with street

archness. The primary aversion to school arises either from distaste for studies or from dislike of the people in school. A potent reason for the distaste for studies is the scholastic backwardness of a child. Most normal children will dislike the fact of their scholastic failure and the consequent humiliation before the class-fellows.

It will be remembered that school is a place where a child fails while many of his age succeed. It appears from the following facts collected from a Corporation Girls' School in C. County that the scholastic backwardness is related to children's irregular attendance at schools.* The students taken into account belonged to Class III, Class II and Class I, their age ranging from 14 to 9. The total number of students was 125. We divided the two groups into scholastically bad and scholastically not bad. Scholastically bad are those who regularly fail in examinations and not bad are those who generally pass their examinations. By regular students we meant those who during the three consecutive months of July, August and September of 1915 were present in more than 50 per cent of the working days of the school while the attendance of the irregular students fell below 50 per cent. The results tabulated were as follows:—

	Regular	Irregular	Total.
Scholastically not bad	64	36	100
Scholastically bad	8	17	25
	—	—	—
Total	72	53	125
	—	—	—

To express the figures in percentage we have them as follows:—

	Regular	Irregular	Difference
Scholastically bad	9.0%	41.0%	32.0%

* Children's irregular attendance at school thus applies strictly to the fact that 14.4% students of Corporation Schools who remain mostly while they are at school—do in the long run a cause of children's further backwardness in scholastic progress.

It must be confessed that the difference is not statistically significant enough, the standard error being almost as high as the difference. All that we can, therefore, say of the figures mentioned is² that poverty in so drastic a formant shows some tendency to correlate itself with irregularity in school attendance.

We have found it may be remarked here that interpersonal relation is of much greater significance than the person's relation to any inorganic object, and the more so in the life of a child. A child's conduct and his likes and dislikes from which all his conducts flow are mostly his reactions to persons.* It has been found quite often that if a child is able to like his teachers and class fellows (this depends both upon himself as well as upon his teachers and class fellows) if he get opportunity to play and make friendship, he will like his school and be willing to come there in spite of his poor scholastic progress.

A school again is a hated place because it trifles with the child's nature. A school where all that is wanted from students is that they should sit quietly and listen passively to teacher cannot but be a dreaded place for children who experience irresistible urge to work with both their bodies and minds. A normal child is again very reality-minded and a school as it is is surcharged with unreality so far as the child is able to feel it. A boy is taught decimal and if he has average intelligence and a good memory he quickly learns to do them mechanically, in most cases, however, without any insight into their meaning or any knowledge of their fields of application. Most children are made to feel that they must learn because their guardians and

* We have found that children's liking or disliking of a subject is completely dependent upon the way it is presented to them. And we can find many examples where thought those subjects in the respective order. In some cases we have been surprised to learn that even when a child meets with the same material in a new situation he does not accept it as new even though the way of teaching is completely different. We have also found a striking difference between interest and effort in the same child in the same subject in different contexts and some amount mystery in normal cases and even in the same child.

teachers want them to do so. This cannot but be a heavy weight on any person on earth and there is nothing strange if a child despises a school.

Such schools compare disadvantageously to a modern infant school where children love to go. A modern school respects a child's wish. Like the reformatory school it does not assume an authoritarian attitude to children but follows children's nature and follows them. Our experiences in *New School Dhahan*, a modern infant school, have shown us that students of such a school dislike the idea of any long holiday. On one occasion they strenuously fought to cut down the summer vacation to a period of fortnight.

We have already mentioned that children's intense dislike for school in many cases are in fact their dislike of more positive attitude for people in the school. A disagreeable reaction to persons in school we are inclined to believe forms always an essential part in any thoroughgoing aversion to school. A person is powerfully accused by his feelings towards other persons which are to an important extent his reactions to the feelings shown to him. A child may put up with any scholastic difficulty or even scholastic failure with comparative ease. His difficulty renders him even some advantage with a teacher of very kind disposition. But most children will resent deeply to be treated with contempt by their teachers and class fellows. It is also good to remember that a school provides children opportunities for play and companionship. A normal child cannot but highly value such opportunities and these alone, as we have found, go much to compensate sorrows that accompany his school-life. It is therefore, easy to understand that a child who does not enjoy social games and who lacks the power of contracting friendship while at school misses this powerful compensation which for quite a considerable number of students is perhaps the only one available.

A child's dislike of the persons in school takes mostly the form of conscious fear. It is instructive to observe that quarrelsome students do not dislike their schools as do timid children. Their timidity, however, does not prevent them

from harboring a very intense hatred against the people of the school. In fact the fear acts as an agent in the growth of their hatred. It may again be said with a little more truth that their conscious fear is also a sign of their unconscious hostility.

A child's tenacious aversion to school is rational, in its attitude towards the like feelings he has come to cherish against his parents, especially the father. In such a case a boy's misbehavior while he is in school is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that his serenity was much affected by the anxiety while he was at home. Here is a case who while manifesting some of the characteristics of Akim, suffers in addition from a strong father hatred which has incapacitated him from enjoying the companionship of the members of the same sex.

We shall call him Dink. He is fourteen years old. He reads in Class III of a High School. He is fair in his studies, got about 45 per cent marks in the last examination. Physically he will pass as one who manifests nothing unusual. He is average in intelligence.

He occasionally plays truant from school. He does not however go back home but passes his hours in streets. He has, however, no favourite track where he goes and plays. He wanders in the neighbourhood often with apparent aimlessness.

His father is an employee in a merchant office. His parents have two sons and he is the younger one.

To the question, 'which place do you like more, home or school?' he replied, 'I dislike home.' To be more to the point, he should have mentioned his *hater* for any of the places. It would be clear as we proceed on, that it was not an accident why he chose a verb signifying aversion to answer my question. He indeed dislikes home and he dislikes schools because of his aversion towards home.

He believes that he is loved more by his mother while neither his father nor his brother loves him. He mentioned mother and father respectively the objects he most liked and disliked. He, however, greatly hates his father

and never experiences any regret against him. He said that the father punished him because the servants refused to serve at their place any longer. He believes that only persons like his father and brother are happy and as for himself he is unhappy. Finally he said that he enjoyed his lonely hours.

He says, he has only one friend and that the friend is all right. He is, however, never friendly with his teachers and he is at all suspicious, glaring during all my interviews with him. Quite often he failed to understand me and I had to repeat my questions more than once.

The difficulty he experienced in responding to my friendly exhortation was fear and suspicion of me, for ultimately I stood for his father in his eyes. This fear is greatly related to his hostile wish against his father, a wish which the father again by his hatred of the child encouraged. The greater portion of projection is aimed as is always the case, by the perilousness on the score of the love and possession of the mother. He wants the love of the mother therefore he hates the father the more. He consequently expects rejection from the father's side and such an expectation the father has to some extent fulfilled by his cruelty and address to the child resulting in a great reinforcement of Dhan's worst belief. This expectation explains Dhan's suspiciousness and anxiety and why he is not happy in the school. He does not want to go back home * school is better than home—but streets are still better since he does not like to make contact with father-like persons.

We shall now proceed to describe our last case of truancy. Prave is a boy who was played upon by a number of unfortunate environmental facts. He suffers immensely one of the very first eight. He is a boy of eleven but he should be a not older than 7 years 3 months.

* He is not allowed to go home earlier than usual by the Headmaster. He is not to go on the ground that parents will rebuke him for coming late.

He is poor to a very extreme degree. He lost his father when he was quite young. He reads in Class III of a Corporation School and he scored only 15 marks in the last annual examination of which score being nothing unusual for him.

The family of Price consists of his mother, elder sister and himself. At present the mother earns the bread for the family by work of a married widow and she eagerly looks forward to days when Price will be able to add something to her present income. Price shares the wish of the mother. He says that he wants to grow up and earn money for his mother and sister.

The scanty and family demands which he in consequence with his mother's wishes, has imposed on himself, cannot but produce a seriously distressing effect. He has not been able to forgive himself for the inevitable frustration he has met again and again especially in the scholastic sphere. He has consequently developed a strong sense of guilt and a feeling of his utter worthlessness. He says that he is bad and he does not believe that he will be able to do anything in life.

The death of the father, as such, an event almost always does, has augmented even more directly the sense of guilt and the need of self-punishment in him. I found him with a bandage on his head. He has hurt himself by falling down accidentally, from a low roof. Such an accident the Headmaster told me, was nothing unusual for the boy. He is very careless, remarked the Headmaster. The boy offers from a photograph of his father. It is in all probability nothing but fear of retribution from the father whose death, Price unconsciously believes, he has brought about by his peevishness.

With such a feeling of guilt Price cannot believe that the mother loves him. He feels he does not deserve to be loved. With tears in his eye he said, "mother does not love me at all. She loves the sister." In remarking which he felt, in turn, we have already mentioned that the mother has also played her share. She wants and expects

of Prave to do his homework. She frequently punishes Prave for his poor marks in his studies.

Prave took to coming from the undesirable situations in school and at home by choosing to play in streets. No child can live without a minimum quantity of play in his life. Prave finds both his father and his mother in streets which are home to his school days to him.

Psychologically the problem of Prave is rather simple. He is an intellectually handicapped child. A misunderstanding of his intellect by his mother and teachers is the source wherefrom the major part of his problems of behaviour have started.

We have thus been able to distinguish between two types of truancy from school. In the one case it is caused mainly by an excessive attachment to home and in the other the cause which have encouraged truancy is a school atmosphere which operates in creating an aversion to and even truancy from home. We are thus landed from truancy from school into truancy from home and a consideration of a case of truancy from home may be found to throw some additional light on the problem of truancy from school. It is all the more so because we had a very close relationship of this case into the mind of the story whose history we are going to narrate.

It is the story of an under-cast boy who is about four teen years of age. He was in Class IX of a Catholic High School. He is a timid boy who displays a marked ambivalent relationship to mother. The boy began the practice of a number of misconducts at the onset of his growing sexual urges. He characteristically gets a mother's allowance, played occasionally truant from school, enjoyed topics of great sexual flavour with his boy friends.

On one occasion he left home after being beaten by his mother, made a rooming arrangement. He went out with the avowed purpose of making mother suffer for him. I shall make his progress through his adolescence account of him. It was made clear to us that the boy has consciously but not consciously strove to gratify his need of compensation and

expectation by the flight and consequent physical and mental discomfort. He said that he was sometimes apprehensive of punishment by his mother. He was even to be seen on several occasions by his mother. So he was going it now.

It is better to leave than to be driven out. He spoke with great bitterness. Why should not leave? But he felt that he would find life easier, happier than he was at home. I know it and I know the mother but I have only had three opportunities to see her. Now I shall be . . . He gave me to understand that he was very unhappy at home because of the frustration of his sex and aggressive drives. He had the thought of Horace who appears that the mother by the continuing wounding attempts to escape from herself.

The boy's flight is not to be taken as a simple reaction to the mother's punishment. The display episode in appearance is a direct outburst against his mother, merely a result of which he feels abandoned by the same. The boy's hatred against his mother is at the heart of what we believe that the great love for her is met with an equal's profound frustration. The mother in her intention does however to even a child love and to this given birth to a great hatred against his mother. Long as is great love for her.

The technique and behaviour of the boy demonstrate the conflict and the purpose of many of his recent events. To the mother he is not at all his power to and into all his mind. There is no gross or any attraction of life and love outside home. The flight merely serves both the contradictory purposes of the boy. By flight he hoped to get back more of the mother's love. Moreover it was an attempt however weak to get away from home to meet the life outside. The flight satisfied mother's set of wishes and the latter entered around aggression. It was undertaken to cause suffering both to the mother (revenge) and to the boy himself (punishment).

It may be said with some justification that the boy resorts to physical flight because psychologically he has yet remained too attached to his mother. In another sense the flight is a way of aggression against himself because he

cannot do without mother's love. Finally we may repeat that the flight is an defensive attempt on the part of the boy to break away from the mother or to speak more correctly from his mother complex or from himself.

IV

Of the four cases mentioned in Section II, Deva's case seems to offer the least difficulty. If his teachers and his mother are willing to take full cognizance of the mental age of the boy, it will help the boy much. It will however involve two things. The mother of the boy should be able to resign herself to humbler expectation of the boy and to make a more suitable arrangement for his education. His I.Q. is low. It is not possible to believe that he will be able to make use of the school instruction suitable for an average child. He needs coaching in a special class or in a special school. That however would involve some expense on the part of his guard in whom I am very poor. It is not possible for her to engage for him a private tutor who possesses special training to teach backward children. We are thus obliged to recommend to him some work of manual nature which will give him scope for self-expression and self-assertion now and which will prepare him for vocation in the future.

Dasu appears to be settling down on his school. He quickly responds to the law of inertia. As he is becoming an old student, Dasu's becoming more and more regular in his attendance at school.

With Akhil we can perhaps do little unless his parents are ready to revise their attitude towards the child. The father himself does not care much for the child's education and while he himself indirectly encourages the child's truancy, it is very difficult to effect any change in the child.

We can recommend nothing short of a psycho-analysis to Hirdeva. His truancy from school, his persecutory fears of his school-fellows, his unnatural home-mindedness, his dislike for play, his strongly ambivalent relation to



mother and his uneasiness and anxiety all point to the need of a thoroughgoing therapeutic. For him it will be not only a corrective measure but even more than that a prophylactic work to save him from sliding down into a mental disease probably one of a quite grave nature.

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CHAPTER VII

A FEW TYPES OF LYING IN CHILDREN *

As we attempt an investigation into children's lying, a broad division at once attracts our notice. It is well known that children enjoy a rich phantasy life and some of their lying relates to their phantasy. In other cases lying is resorted to by children in order to avoid punishment. We shall first of all consider lying which is closely associated with children's phantasy.

As children wish to be big and strong like adults, they dream of power and of great achievements. We only regard such phantasies as lyings of different degrees when they are expressed by children either with a belief in their reality or to induce in others such a belief.

Dipak, a boy of six, said as he saw the examiner writing with a pen that he had fifty golden rubs. He even magnanimously offered a few of them to the examiner.

Dym is a boy of eight. He is fairly strong and brave. Yet as is quite natural, he is not equal to Neil, a boy of fifteen, either in strength or in athletic prowess. He is conscious of Neil's superiority and he never tries his strength with the latter. But as he is unable to resign himself to that humiliating truth he goes on saying to his friend that he is a match for Neil at football and he is also equal to him in physical strength.

Both the assertions may be regarded for practical purposes as falsehoods. The second one is only a more clever piece of lie as a contest which can disprove that it has not taken place.

The two instances of lying again probably characterise two different age levels. A boy of ten has greater respect

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for fact than a boy of five. That is why his phantasy is more realistic and open contradiction of facts is much less common.

One of the potent sources of phantasy is the sense of inferiority and inadequacy experienced by children. Children entertain a number of important adultlike wishes but because of the immaturity of their power, they are unable to gratify them. As a result, they seek compensation in phantasy. Our question however is, why in certain cases children try to pass those wish-products for facts. It does not seem possible to provide a general answer to the question. Our attempt to answer that question may claim some validity in so far as those two cases go. It is sometimes said that children do not distinguish between a fancy from a fact. Such a statement is rarely confirmed in fact. What is true, however, with very young children is that they little realize the ethical implication of truth and falsehood. Whenever Satu, a boy of 3 years wishes to enjoy his midday meal he comes and says to his mother that he has taken his bath. He knows through repeated experience that the midday meal follows bath. He is not, however, astounded of his untruth, though he knows the falsity of the statement. As educationists view the problem, it may be said that so long as a child does not realize the ethical implication of falsehood, the falsehood falls short of a lie.*

Dipak is the younger of the two children of his parents. He is preceded by a sister who is senior by five years. It has been the lot of Dipak to be compared unfavourably with his sister quite frequently. Parents have further unmoderately stirred the ambition of the child which remains true also in the case of Dinnu. As a result both the children suffer from an exaggerated sense of inferiority which they feel to be very distressing. The simple make-believe of superiority does not suffice to sustain them against the inferiority feeling. They therefore try to assure themselves

* That explains why no wise educationist would take a serious view of Satu's untruth nor the father who made any pretence of taking it as such. The educationist must wait for the child's sense of identity.

and others that they are not make believes. In the case of Dipak the delusional character of the phantasy was apparent.

The tie of Parul, a girl five years of age, reveals some of the deeper causes in lying. She came to school accompanied by her two older sisters, Uma and Bina, who were seven and nine years of age respectively. Both the girls are taller than Parul. I made Parul and Uma stand side by side and then I asked Parul "who is taller - you or Uma?" She immediately replied that she was the taller girl. Next she was compared to Bina in a similar manner and her answer to our question was again the same. I then came forward, stood by her side and asked "who is the taller of us?" She said a little tenderly, "You are taller."

The mental age of Parul is 5 years and 3 months. We do not think her mistake to be an intellectual one. In all cases she knew that she was the shorter girl. But she hated her sisters and towards them she therefore displayed a keen sense of rivalry. In scholastic work the rivalry was quite marked. She must read books that others read and often she, in her wish to compete, reads too much. It was quite natural that Parul could not admit her shortness when she was compared with her rivals. But with the author, the matter was different. She all along displayed a lively wish to be loved by the author and she intuitively felt that if she was small, she would be loved all the more. The incident thus shows that the child's preoccupation of tallness and wish to avoid truth derive the important part of their energy from her great hatred against her sisters.

An instance of fantastic life of Dinn, 8, even below, as Dinn went to the bath-room to wash himself, he found a small sparrow springing into existence from air. Gradually the sparrow became as big as a giant and as big as a three-storied building. As the giant wanted to catch hold of Dinn, he ran away and narrowly escaped. He narrated the story to his eight year old friend, Kati, as the latter says, to frighten him. Kati was no doubt right in believing so, but as we understand Dinn wanted Kati to share his fear and thus, to some extent relieve it. The phantasy seems to

portray symbolically a certain theme. Quite possibly the giant represents the erected phallus of the father whom because of the presence of a competitive projective identification wish in the child, seems to threaten him. More exactly, in his mind, the phallus contains a core of psychic reality which receives a disguised expression in a ghost story.

In reply to a question, "who is the favourite child of your mother?" Nani, a child of eight, writes, "myself." We however know, so does the child, that the mother favourite is his youngest brother. The child feels the father humiliating and he lies so that he may not appear inferior in the eyes of the examiner. It is quite likely that as the child also finds the facts very painful, he tries to forget it by believing that it is he who is favourite. In that case the child tries to deceive himself as he deceives the examiner. Such an attempt at deception draws an important part of its motive from the child's wishful tendency.

It has been found that cultural tradition of the family is important in determining the quantity of a child's truthfulness. Children imitate their parents and when parents often lie, it cannot be expected that children will be very truthful. Imitativeness in children is not however an indiscriminate process and it is not sufficient to explain a child's untruthfulness by pointing out similar untruthfulness to parents. The affective relation between parents and children is always more important and it is to be taken fully into account to understand the child's untruthfulness. A child sometimes lies as his reaction to the father, he not because of the child's tendency to imitate but as his gesture of revenge against the lying father.

Lying to avoid punishment forms the more intelligent group and it is also probably more important from the point of view of moral education. Akshaya, a girl, lies to escape without preparing his lesson. He escapes punishment by inventing an excuse, e.g., that he mistook the class kept him busy at home. Such lying is prompted by fear in the first instance, fear of punishment at the hand of the teacher.

Gradually the super-ego of the child develops, when it becomes necessary not only to deceive the external authority but also the internal authority to escape the pang of conscience. An older child's attempt to deceive others therefore more and more takes the character of self-deception.

A closely related variety of lying may often be found in children's quarrels. Each of the two fighting children tries to derive moral support from a belief that he has been aggressed first. Both of them try to enlist by that means the favourable judgment and support of the elders. Thus lying there is both a defence and an attack. Such lying, to an important degree, makes use of the mechanism of projection of guilt. It may be said when Hari beats Jadu believing him an heir to the former's guilt, Jadu has been made in the hand of Hari to stand for Hari, or more accurately Hari's Id.

In connection with our investigation into the problem of anti-social behaviour in children we came across many cases of lying. One of them was referred to us by the Headmaster of a school as being an extreme case. We were given to believe that he would lie in all his answers to our questions. What we however found was that he lied with discrimination, whenever he sensed danger. For instance, to our question "what do you usually do in the afternoon?" He replied "I go home, wash myself, take my tiffin, walk as far as Victoria Memorial, come back home before dusk and attend to my studies." In other words he does what his parents think he ought to do. He however really pursues none of the aforesaid acts of good conduct, and such failure on his part repeatedly met with reproof and punishment in the past. The last fact explains the reason for his lying. The boy however distinguished himself from other children in his almost entire lack of hesitancy and timidity when he lied. Moreover he has developed the art of self-consistent lying. It is difficult to find points for attack in such lies, yet such lying is not unimpeachable.

No child has been found to be on all points. We have however found even some of the very young children to be

consistently truthful. Every child, we believe, feels early in his life a spontaneous urge to speak the truth and to avoid a lie.* They however sometimes do not choose to speak (especially to strangers) and sometimes they indulge in make-believe, none of which according to our definition, is untruth. Lying is a psychic hiding prompted mostly by the unpleasantness of the truth or fear of its consequences. If we want our children to be truthful we must try to remove the sting from truth. If we cannot make truth always pleasant, we shall do well to make it appear less unpleasant and less fearful in the eyes of our children.

* We do not here refer to the ideal of truthfulness. The ideal is a least acquisition which most probably strives to counteract an already given tendency to avoid truth.

CHAPTER VIII

A PSYCHOLOGICAL STUDY OF A TWO-YEAR OLD *

Satu is a boy of 2 years and 9 months. We note below a few interesting facts of the child's mental development from a systematic record kept about him. The record covers a period more than 2 years since the child was six months of age. The child's mental history from the age of one year and six months has received, however, greater attention.

Satu belongs to a middle class family and of two sons of his parents he is the younger by five years. Both of his parents are teachers, the father works in a college while the mother works in a school. During the working hours, the children are left more often to the care of their grandmother.

Satu enjoys a fairly good health though worm causes him some trouble. At the age of 2 years and 6 months, he attained a fairly good control over his bowels and urines. He is an extrovert child and he seems to possess all the *athene* emotion in abundance. He appears also to be precocious both intellectually and emotionally.

Satu at the age of 6 months showed both power and eagerness to seize things with his hands. He could then crawl and frequently used his crawling to seize objects.

He did not however have all that he wanted. The frustration occasionally led to a temporary regression to an earlier-acquired pleasure as the following incident would show. He had already developed interest in lighted lanterns and one day he was trying to get hold of one such. The lantern was however hung out of his reach high on the wall. He extended his hand and crawled some length to reach for it

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for sometime but without any success. In despair the child put his thumb into his mouth and began to suck.

Similar behaviour on the part of the child was observed in other connections. When his mother went out leaving him at home, he would react first with wailing and crying. The child would seem to feel overwhelmed for a time, but then quite suddenly he would begin to suck his thumb and become quiet. The child's behaviour may remind one that in the lives of some persons the difficulties encountered in living the life of object libido leads to compensatory anti-erotic practices.

Satu reached his period of dentition at the 7th month. His gums were hard and red and swollen was marked. He bit whatever he could reach to e.g., finger, bread, chair, perambulator and books. His destructive urge was not confined to teeth only. He used his hands to tear newspapers whenever he got them. It seemed that the act of destruction gave him pleasure as well as caused him anxiety. He made however an exception in the case of brightly coloured objects especially red ones. He watched such objects and would not sometimes proceed any further. May we say that here are marks of emergence of an aesthetic feeling distinguished by a rudimentary contemplative attitude which is different from the child's more usual active and aggressive incorporation of objects?

During this period, the mother had to keep away from home also during afternoon hours. The baby had adjusted himself well to the 6 hours absence of his mother. To these additional hours of separation from the mother during afternoon, he now however failed to adjust himself. He began to cry incessantly for the mother as soon as the clock struck five. The child evidently began to suffer from a sense of insecurity. The play of the child offered him a set-back primarily in duration of the play time. As the mother the frustration mentioned was repeated for about ten days discontinued her afternoon outing. He however, gradually quieted down.

Satu at the age of 1 year 3 months was yet mostly elder minded. He however developed some interest in his elder brother which was predominantly a hate-interest. He must have everything of the elder child and eat whatever the latter would eat. The play things of the brother appeared of more value in his eyes which he readily took possession of and refused to part with.

He wanted the exclusive possession of his mother and whatever threatened his possession evoked his anger. He felt particularly jealous of his father and the elder brother and the jealousy persists till now. He did not seem to like his parents talking to each other and he did not seem to tolerate any physical contact between them. He would also say that she was Satu's mother and not the mother of his elder brother.

Satu began to show at this time a lot of interest in shoes. The bigger shoes made on him a greater appeal than his own small pair*. In this respect, we believe, he is like other children. He was again most zealous to possess the shoes of the brother and seemed to be unwilling to counterbalance the fact that his brother had any need of shoes.

One day his elder brother was eating sugar from a plate while Satu had another plate. Satu was dissatisfied with his own plate and aggressively put hold of his elder brother's. The child's preference for things belonging to his elder brother to those of his own is quite a trait in the child's character.

This trait we think is more due to an inner dissatisfaction with himself, than to lack of development of intelligence. The child's envy is based on the fact of his inferiority. He proudly co-operates with his brother when he feels that he is his equal and can do what his brother

* First grade shoes are not known in our school system starting for girls and seniors. It is not an accident why the cherishing of the father's property by the child. If the father is expressed by the expression "stepping into the father's shoes". It means in the unconscious the aspiration of all the powers and privileges of the father, including the sexual one.

can do. He (age 1 year and 3 months) repeatedly exchanged a pump with his brother and played with it as he could use the pump almost equally well. He reacted to the hammer however quite differently. As he was unable to handle it satisfactorily while his brother showed some proficiency with respect to it, he summarily took the exclusive possession of the hammer only with the motive of dispossessing his brother of it. It seemed to be unbearable for him to see that the brother succeeded while he could not.

It is striking to note that power to enjoy and greed for exclusive possession hold an inverse relation. Quite often the lack of power evoked hostile emotion and Satu took pleasure in destroying the houses his brother made with wooden blocks and trucks. In fact, so long as he was unable to build a house himself, he could be prevented from destroying the building of his brother only with great difficulty. The destructive act probably draws its motive from two sources. Firstly, the greater craftsmanship of the elder brother humiliates and angers the child, secondly, the act of destruction gives him an added sense of power.

About this time Satu developed the habit of throwing away things. He disliked the maid-servant in whose care he was sometimes left. When she approached him, he made a movement of expulsion by hand and uttered the word, 'Ta, Ta' go away go away. Throwing away of objects constituted most of his play. One day (1 year 3 months) he picked up a pencil *only to throw it away again*. He made the parents pick it up for him so that he could throw it away again.

Satu's jealousy, throwing away of objects and unhappiness as expressed by frequent cryings reached their peak when he was two years of age. He then occasionally threw objects at his brother. When he was angry, he would urinate* sometimes. Urination has been known in

* Urination is a matter of chance for adults as much as it is for children. Some mothers estimate Satya's urinations against the clock. The frequency of urination to life and a little more specimen would show the child's state of mind, the act of urinating being.

psychoanalysis to have destructive significance in the child. When Satir however used a pot to urinate, he probably gratified sexual impulse more than the aggressive one.

The child showed that he was unable to adjust himself satisfactorily to the presence of a third person, especially his brother, in the proximity of his mother. He was angry and miserable and made the life of his mother also equally miserable. When he was alone with his mother he was however happy. Though he disliked the brother most in the presence of his mother, he showed some liking for him when the two were left alone.

Satan's aggressiveness showed some decrease when he was 2 years and 6 months. At 2 years 9 months he seems to have been somewhat to some degree. He is at least able to inhibit some of the more primitive expressions of aggression—e.g. throwing an object and striking.⁸

He also displayed during this period some attempts at self injury. He appeared careless and even reckless in his movements and actions. He bumped himself against the wall, often fell down and hurt himself. In this respect he was quite opposite of his brother in whom the destructive-ness was not much developed. Father's self-directed aggression attained undoubted expression, when one day at the age of 1 year 3 months he accidentally hurt his head against the window. He became enraged and he struck his head again and again against the window.

[illegible]

For he analysts of human nature (Milton, Kant) in the fear that "learned as often as we can" hurt themselves because they wish it.

Recently as he fell down on the floor he said to himself that he had deserved being hurt (well deserved). The expression "well deserved" was first taken over from his father who used it, in anger, on a few occasions when the child had carelessly fallen down and hurt himself. We may believe that the child identified himself with his father in condemning himself as he was already feeling an unconscious need of punishment.

At one year six months of age Sata regarded all illness and calamities as something supernatural. When he found a bead on the hand of his father, he immediately asked his father—"who has beaten you?"

In respect of his brother's illness also that was a case of fever he made a similar enquiry.

Sata displayed anxiety which often assumed a phobic character. It was found to be a direct relationship to his aggression.

From his early months the duration of the child's sleep fell short of what was normal for a baby of his age. At 1 year of age he slept for about ten hours or so. He appeared also restless in his sleep. Sometimes he cried in his dreams. One night when he was two years and one month of age (this was the period when the child's aggression reached its highest) he was awakened from his sleep by a dream and began crying. "Mother has taken away my shoes." On the day preceding the dream his brother had got a gift of a new pair of shoes. Sata tried immediately to monopolize not only his pair but also the pair which belonged to his brother. He was found to put on the bigger pair and to walk about to the dismay of the older child. That incident makes the dream intelligible. He was being punished by his brother for having the brother of his big shoes but in the dream the brother was telling him of his small pair. The relation between the child's aggression and his anxiety is also evident from another incident. Sata used to beat a cat crazily. During daytime he showed little fear of the cat but when it was

dark he was all fear lest the cat would come and bite him.* The fear of attacks came mostly to him when he sat for his evening meals. He feared that the cat would come from underneath the table and bite his leg. He however showed little fear of his pet, a kitten, whom he caressed and fed. His fear of the cat had somewhat abated when he was persuaded to feed the animal. He was afraid of Dinn, an aggressive boy of 2 years ago, with whom he made his acquaintance about two months ago. In fact he ran to his parents as soon as he caught sight of Dinn. One afternoon Dinn was given something to eat by Sati's mother. Sati watched it and said to Dinn: "Dinn, you will not beat me any more."

He also showed fear of attack when he evacuated faeces. The evacuation of faeces is, in the mind of the child, an aggressive act. That perhaps explains why the act is associated with anxiety.

One night at this time Sati dreamt a rather pleasant dream in which he saw Dinn flying away. Sati has been found to try to allay his own anxiety regarding animals by saying: "I shall give the animals rice and fish to eat. The animals would love me."

Quite recently the child has developed a phobia that the dog would bite him and the fear was occasioned mostly by the loud barking. The child has for some months been showing fear of loud sounds. It may not be irrelevant to note here that Sati greatly fears his father's loud scolding and it may be suggested on the evidence of other psycho-analytic findings, that the dog represents the father in the Unconscious of the boy.

Sati often anxiously guards his possessions and betrays an ever present fear of being robbed. This fear according to our opinion arises largely from the child's utter lack of respect for other's property.†

* It is of course possible that Sati may have shown a similar reaction. It was, however, not observed that he was afraid of cats during the day.

† That fear expressed itself in his dream which recently he dreamt and in which Dinn robbed him. Dinn is a child of about four years age. In their mutual relations Sati is more often the aggressor and the robber.

To explain Sato's phobia of animals we may suppose that he has set up within him a sadistic super-ego, the picture of his punishing and prohibiting parent, reinforced by his own aggression. He projects his super-ego on to the animals and regards them more dangerous than they actually are. In his case the transfer of fear from the father to the animal was probably facilitated by a game which he used to play in which the father assumed the role of a tiger, and more often, a barking dog. Now as the dog has been made to stand for hostile father, he is to some extent relieved from fearing the real father so greatly. He has made quite a useful division in his psyche between the bad father (dog) and the good father (father) and he shows therefore an intelligible unwillingness to see his real father assuming any more the role of the dog. In fact he has developed quite an aversion to the game in which the father took the dog's part. More or less in the language of Melanie Klein, one may say that when he thus runs to father for shelter, he really seeks reassurance from good father against his internalised bad father as represented by the dog.

Recently educators have stressed the importance of catharsis of affect as a measure of mental hygiene. The usefulness of catharsis *et c.*, of aggression is based on the knowledge gained by psycho-analysis that 'the more a man controls his aggressiveness, the more intense become the aggressive tendencies of his ego-ideal against his ego. It is a displacement, turning round upon the self' (Sigmund Freud²). In the above-mentioned facts of Sato, we however notice an important limitation in the usefulness of catharsis. Psycho-analysis has again long ago informed us that there is in our Unconscious an innate belief in the talion law. The child's release of aggression in aggressive actions leads to the development of anxiety in the child.

For some time past he has been found to show visible signs of anxiety at his acts of aggression. This anxiety he tried to overcome by acts of mending and replacement. Shops in this connection played an important part in his psyche as they provided a means of replacement. A few

days ago he broke his cup and seemed anxious. He was told by his father that a new cup would be bought for him from the shop. He repeated the father's words again and again and seemed less anxious. He was on the next day taken to a shop and a cup was bought for him. He was extremely glad. Whenever a toy breaks, he urges his mother mend that for him.

Satu was not allowed to touch his father's pen and inkpot. In the absence of his parents he sometimes made use of them as his toys dictated. Gradually he acquired some control over his wishes and one day when he was two years and one month of age he sat down on the father's chair, watched the pen and the inkpot and gravely remarked:

The father beats me for taking the pen. We may suppose that as he experienced the desire the associated parental prohibition came to his mind and he verbalised the same to dissuade himself from the temptation.

Satu began to practise thumb-sucking quite vigorously and enthusiastically from his nine months of age when he was weaned from the mother's breast and the habit in such a form persisted for about three months. He began to show interest in his penis when he was one year and eight months of age. The penis seemed to be a matter of pride for him. He sometimes drew the prepuce upward and noticed curiously the red glanspenis. Sometimes he masturbated drawing forward and backward for about four or five times in all. He developed interest in his brother's penis too which he tried to handle whenever his brother was naked and showed curiosities about the penis of both his father and his mother. He believed that everyone possessed a penis. Quite recently his genital interest has lessened both as regards curiosity and manipulation. Satu was often found to caress his mother. He kissed her and embraced her. He was sometimes found to caress his elder brother too and would ask him to suck his breast. He thereby played the role of the mother. Sometimes he played the father and more often the doctor who came and

imputed his mother. If the child reached his aesthetic male wish by identification in identification to such sympathetic identification he also showed evidence of empathic identification. He often inquired where were the feet of other men. Recently one day he was ill and was refused his usual food when he saw the picture of a few men he said that the men must eat rice and curry. This was an instance of vicarious gratification by proxy.

At two years of age he again showed many signs of castration anxiety. One day as he was putting on pants he anxiously enquired about his penis again and again. When at last he was shown his penis, he became relieved and said "now let me put on the pants." During this period he developed an obsessional interest in the missing leg in persons and in picture. If leg did not appear visible to him, he was immediately bound to enquire of their existence. If artists were not careful enough to draw both the legs, he would try to know in endless repetitions where the other leg had gone. His parents' usual reply was "The leg is there but remains covered." This did not always allay his anxiety and sometimes he added a supplementary question if the leg had been taken away by a kite bird. In that household it was a common fun of elders to tease the child by saying that the kite would take away the child's penis.

We believe that there is some important nexus between the child's various anxieties. Those developed most at the height of child's aggression. Then again the child's fear of being bitten by a dog² assumed much greater proportion when the castration anxiety in its almost undisguised form became more and more unconscious. We may think that the former fear owes its present intensity to the reinforcement from the latter.

Satu's fear of animals is the ego's fear of the super-ego. Recently one day we have found him saying to cows, "cow,

² He is not now immune from the phobia of cats and dogs. His attitude towards cats when he was two years of age was one of fear, aversion and repulsion. But only dogs are at present objects of great fear.

come and bite me." Thus ego both wishes and fears super-ego's chastisement. About a month ago, the child got a fright as a cow rushed at him.

Satu shows a few more signs of oral fixation to the mother's breast. We found him the other day playing with his genital. Suddenly he asked: "where is the mother's breast"? That showed that he was still dominated by the infantile interest in the mother's breast which led him to identify penis with nipple. This may be understood as a mild fixation to oral libido. It is probable that in an extreme case of oral fixation the child shows an entire unwillingness to develop any new interest. In a moderate type, though the child develops new interests, the new series derive the important part of their (unconscious) significance from the old one for which they stand mostly as substitutes.* The intimate knowledge of Satu's history revealed that Satu's oral interest was unduly strong. The attempt at weaning the child at nine months of age miscarried as the child was found to be extremely miserable and restless as a result of the imposed frustration.

Satu has retained an important part of his oral libido by transferring it to cigarettes and oranges. He shows insatiable greed for oranges and he goes on eating them one, two, three, four, and even five, while his interest in other food may be regarded as normal for a child. Oranges may be a good substitute for nipple for it is juicy (juice-milk) and it satisfies to some extent sucking interest. He often makes cigarettes in his play and 'smokes' them. Every-day he comes and turns the pages of the newspaper to see his favourite picture of cigarettes. He sometimes shows wish to be milked like a cow. He saw milking of cows. His penis, he offers, for udder. We thus see that for the

* It is interesting to observe that in the phenomenon of regression conditioned by castration anxiety, the reverse holds good. Alexander² writes that oral and anal forms of satisfaction do not become fixed as castration anxiety "because the pregenital gratifications themselves have acquired a genital character." A gentleman told us that he experiences his "oral" excitement in his oral and genital regions. It is not however a case of thoroughgoing inversion.

child everything has become a symbol for nipple. He is like a mechanic who sees everywhere his favourite machine.

In the identification of nipple with other objects there are mainly two varieties: In the one, he takes the role of the baby; in the other, he identifies himself with the mother and introjects the nipple into himself.

We shall conclude our paper by pointing out that the second year was an extremely important as well as a critical period in the life of Satu. Many of his infantile habits and emotions reached then their height. At that period he showed great interest in his penis and urinary activity, demonstrated great jealousy, aggression and some love as well as suffered from morbid fears and castration anxiety. It may be added that the emotions and experiences of Satu's third year would prove to be of decisive significance for the subsequent course of his life.

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3. Franz Alexander—*The Psycho-Analysis of the Total Personality*, p. 105.

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